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# Harvard College Library



FROM THE

## BRIGHT LEGACY

One half the income from this Legacy, which was received in 1880 under the will of

JONATHAN BROWN BRIGHT

of Waltham, Massachusetts, is to be expended for books for the College Library. The other half of the income is devoted to scholarships in Harvard University for the benefit of descendants of

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who died at Watertown, Massachusetts, in 1686. In the absence of such descendants, other persons are eligible to the scholarships. The will requires that this announcement shall be made in every book added to the Library under its provisions.



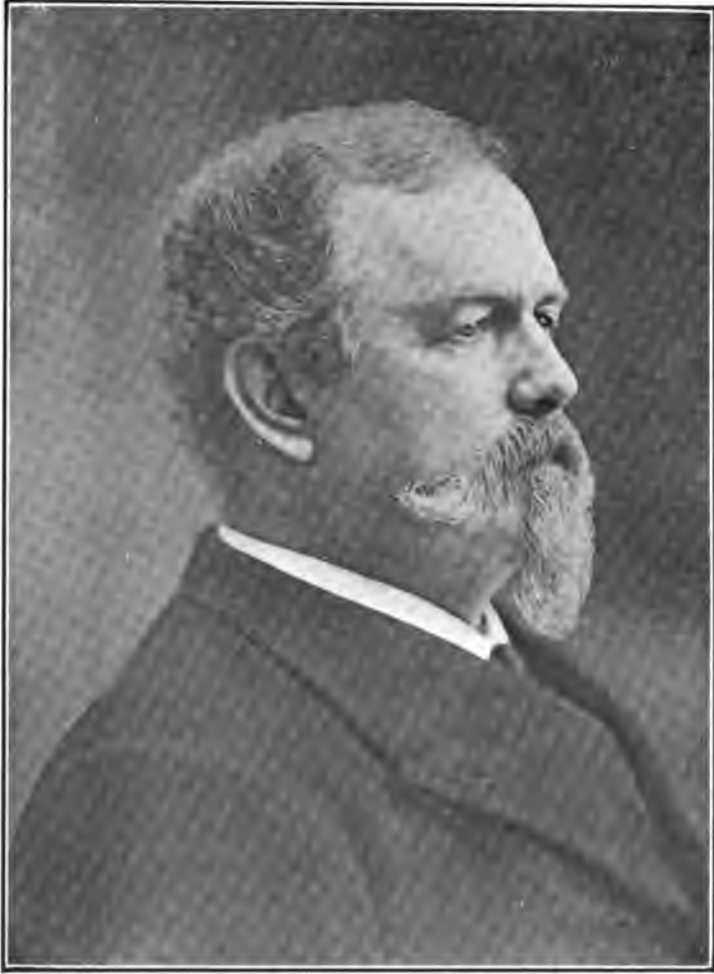












*Jos. R. Hawley*  
*Taken Aug 11. 1884*

(From a picture presented by General Hawley to the author )

A History  
of the  
Republican National  
Conventions  
from  
1856 to 1908

By John Tweedy

PUBLISHED BY JOHN TWEEDY  
DANBURY, CONN.



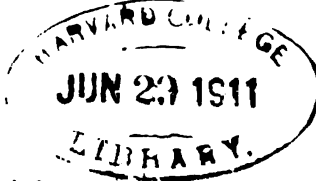
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PUBLISHED BY JOHN TWEEDY  
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1910

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*Bright fund*

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## AUTHOR'S PREFACE.

At the time I began writing these convention papers for THE HARTFORD COURANT, I intended to describe only the conventions I had attended, either as a delegate or a spectator, beginning with the one of 1860 (the first Lincoln convention) and following with those of 1868, 1872, 1876 and 1880.

After the last paper was published, I was asked by THE COURANT to write accounts of the later conventions.

Relying upon the official record, as well as upon my own recollections, I complied with the request and wrote of the others in their order; and afterward added the conventions of 1856 and 1864 to complete the series. This will account for a slight repetition in the 1864 paper of what had already appeared in that of 1868.

I had no expectation of publishing these papers in book form, but at the request of many friends and with the kind permission of THE COURANT, I have done so (revised and with many additions) and herewith present the volume to the public with the hope that it may be of some interest to its readers.

THE AUTHOR.

Danbury, Conn., May, 1910.



## INTRODUCTION.

The Republican party has held fourteen National Conventions, adopted fourteen platforms, made fourteen nominations for the presidency, and elected its candidate eleven times in the period from Fremont to Taft. Where were those conventions held? Who were the leading men in them? What platforms were adopted? Who were the various candidates brought forward from whom to choose the nominee? How did the Connecticut delegation vote, and who were the Connecticut delegates? These and similar questions are asked by almost everybody during the excitement of a national campaign and they are often asked between times.

This volume by Colonel Tweedy is the only publication that I know of which brings together between two covers the answers to all these inquiries. The sketches were first published in *THE COURANT*, and their established accuracy, their fluent style, and the fund of information that they conveyed made them very popular and led to the demand, to which Colonel Tweedy has yielded, for their appearance in permanent form. The publication will be found an invaluable political reference book, and in preparing and publishing it Colonel Tweedy has rendered a genuine public service for which all fortunate enough to possess it will be increasingly grateful as the years go by.

CHARLES HOPKINS CLARK.

Hartford, Conn., May, 1910.



THIS VOLUME IS AFFECTIONATELY DEDICATED TO THE  
MEMORY OF GENERAL JOSEPH R. HAWLEY,  
LONG THE HONORED FRIEND OF MY FATHER,  
WHOSE GREAT ADMIRATION FOR HIM  
WAS SHARED BY THE AUTHOR.

*(From a letter recently received from Mrs. Hawley, by the author.)*

" \* \* \* \* My daughters and I are very pleased to think that you will remember the General so beautifully. Those who cared for him are becoming fewer and fewer now, and your tribute of affection touches us deeply. \* \* \* \*"

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open

**THE FIRST  
REPUBLICAN NATIONAL  
CONVENTION**



JOHN C. FREMONT

REPUBLICAN  
CANDIDATES

1856



WILLIAM L. DAYTON

THE FIRST REPUBLICAN NATIONAL CONVENTION  
HELD AT PHILADELPHIA, PA., JUNE 17-19, 1856

*For President*—JOHN C. FREMONT, of California

*For Vice-President*—WILLIAM L. DAYTON, of New Jersey

The first Republican National Convention met in Philadelphia in June, 1856. The old Whig party had become disintegrated. Its National Convention, held in 1852, at which General Winfield Scott was nominated as a candidate for the Presidency, was destined to be its last.

The Missouri Compromise had been repealed in 1854 and the Territories of Kansas and Nebraska had been opened to the introduction of slavery, which under the compromise had been prohibited. The Democratic party, ruled by the slave power of the South, was naturally pro-slavery and aggressive, while the Whig party, though having a large membership in the South, was in large part anti-slavery, but timid. Franklin Pierce, elected President in 1852, was the subservient tool of the slave power and ready to do its bidding. Political excitement

at this time ran high throughout the country, and the matter of organizing a new party was agitated among the people and discussed in the public press.

A small club was organized in Washington, D. C., on June 19, 1855, at which a brief platform was adopted, in which it was stated that "we do associate ourselves together under the name and title of The Republican Association of Washington, D. C." On January 17, 1856, there was published and circulated largely by the Washington Association an appeal to the country to organize clubs. This circular was signed by Daniel R. Goodloe, H. S. Brown and Lewis Clephane, committee. A call for a National Convention was issued January 17, 1856, for a meeting to be held at Pittsburg, Pa., on the 22d of February following. This call was dated at Washington, D. C., and signed by A. P. Stone of Ohio, J. Z. Goodrich of Massachusetts, David Wilmot of Pennsylvania, Lawrence Brainard of Vermont, and William A. White of Wisconsin. This convention met, as called, and brought together many prominent men of the country, including Edwin D. Morgan, John A. King and Horace Greeley of New York; Francis P. Blair, Sr., of Maryland; William Dennison and Joshua R. Giddings of Ohio, Owen Lovejoy of Illinois, Governor Bingham of Michigan and James M. Bunce of Connecticut. Horace Greeley, during the two days' sessions of the convention, sent numerous bulletins to THE TRIBUNE by "magnetic telegraph."

A National Executive Committee was appointed, with Edwin D. Morgan of New York as chairman, and it was voted to hold a National Convention for the nomination of candidates for President and Vice-President in Phila-

delphia on June 17. The leading men in the movement were greatly encouraged at the large attendance at the convention and the great enthusiasm shown, which to them was strong evidence that a new party would be successfully organized. The call for the convention at Philadelphia was issued on March 29. The committee met in Washington on March 27 for that purpose, and so important was the wording of that call regarded, so as to offend no one, and draw in from the ranks of all parties, that two days were spent in session at Willard's Hotel in preparing the call for the nominating convention. The call was as follows:

*To the People of the United States:*

The people of the United States, without regard to past political differences or divisions, who are opposed to the repeal of the Missouri Compromise, to the policy of the present administration, to the extension of slavery into the territories, in favor of the admission of Kansas as a free state, and of restoring the action of the federal government to the principles of Washington and Jefferson, are invited by the national committee, appointed by the Pittsburg convention of February 22, 1856, to send from each state three delegates from every congressional district, and six delegates at large to meet in Philadelphia on June 17 next, for the purpose of recommending candidates to be supported for the offices of President and Vice-President of the United States. [Signed by Edwin D. Morgan, chairman, and twenty others, representing the national committee.]

The member of the committee for Connecticut was John M. Niles. The call for the convention aroused great interest throughout the country. State organizations were formed and conventions held to choose delegates to the National Convention. Many old line Democrats had become disgusted with the course of their

party as represented by the administration of President Pierce, whose truckling to the slave power was so apparent that they united with the old line Whigs in forming the new party. A year or two prior to this time an organization known as the American party had been formed and had grown rapidly. Members of this party were known as "Knownothings." Its fundamental principle was that the government of the country should be in the hands of native citizens. This organization was practically merged with the Republican party during the campaign of 1856, and acted with it afterward. A portion of that party, however, and some old-line Whigs and Democrats, who would not act with the Republican party, held a National Convention and nominated Millard Fillmore for President. He polled a large popular vote throughout the country in the election following, but received the electoral vote of only one state, that of Maryland. The founders of the Republican party were earnest, determined men. Their blood had boiled at the demands of the slave power and its attempt to force slavery into free Kansas; at the atrocities and outrages perpetrated in that territory by the border ruffians of Missouri; the murders and arsons committed there with the seeming acquiescence of the national administration with Franklin Pierce as President. So when these men met in convention they spoke with no uncertain sound. Some of the ablest and most prominent men of the country, including many old-line Democrats, as well as old-line Whigs, were present as delegates.

The speeches delivered during the sessions aroused the greatest enthusiasm. The cheering was constant. I remember—then a boy—hearing my father, who was a



delegate from Connecticut, describe the scenes he witnessed in that convention. The brutal attack upon Charles Sumner in the Senate chamber at Washington had taken place about a month before the convention met (May 22), and had aroused the greatest indignation throughout the country, and had helped to stir up the most intense feeling among the delegates.

The Republicans of Connecticut at their convention, held in the winter of 1856, to choose candidates for state officers for the following April election, had also chosen delegates to the Philadelphia convention, six delegates-at-large, and three from each congressional district, as provided for in the call. Those chosen were the following:

#### AT LARGE.

John M. Niles, Hartford; Benjamin Silliman, New Haven; D. F. Robinson, Hartford; Charles Ives, New Haven; Chauncey F. Cleveland, Hampton; Charles Adams, Litchfield.

#### DISTRICT.

First—Dwight Loomis, Rockville; James M. Bunce, Hartford; Thaddeus Welles, Glastonbury.

Second—Benjamin Douglas, Middletown; Charles L. English, New Haven; Elihu Spencer, Middletown.

Third—Daniel P. Tyler, Brooklyn; Augustus Brandegee, New London; Moses Pierce, Norwich.

Fourth—Frederick S. Wildman, Danbury; George D. Wadhams, Wolcottville (now Torrington); Edgar S. Tweedy, Danbury.

Mr. Niles died May 31, 1856, a short time before the convention met. Many of the delegates were then prominent, or became so later. Benjamin Silliman was a noted professor at Yale. Charles Ives was a prominent lawyer at New Haven, and became speaker of the House in 1868. Chauncey F. Cleveland was a former governor and member of Congress, Dwight Loomis was

member of Congress, 1859-63, and later for many years, on the superior court and supreme court bench. Thaddeus Welles, a brother of Gideon Welles; Daniel P. Tyler, a noted campaign speaker; Benjamin Douglas, lieutenant governor in 1861-62; Charles L. English, a brother of Governor English; Augustus Brandegee, speaker of the House in 1861, and member of Congress, 1863-67; Frederick S. Wildman, state treasurer in 1857, and state senator in 1860.

The Whig party in the state of Connecticut was breaking up between the years of 1853 and 1857, as the vote for the different candidates for Governor in those years, as given below, will show:

For Governor in 1853:

Thomas H. Seymour, Democrat, received .....	30,814
Henry Dutton, Whig .....	20,671
Francis Gillette .....	8,926

In 1854:

Samuel Ingham, Democrat .....	28,338
Henry Dutton, Whig .....	19,465
Charles Chapman .....	10,572
John Hooker .....	2,560

Henry Dutton was elected by the Legislature.

In 1855:

William T. Minor, American .....	22,608
Samuel Ingham, Democrat .....	27,254
Henry Dutton, Whig .....	9,161

William T. Minor was elected by the Legislature.

In 1856:

Samuel Ingham, Democrat .....	32,704
William T. Minor, American .....	26,008
Gideon Welles, Republican .....	6,740
John A. Rockwell .....	1,251

William T. Minor was elected by the Legislature.

In 1857:

Alexander H. Holley, Republican .....	31,702
Samuel Ingham, Democrat .....	31,156

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The campaign of 1856 was an exciting one and the result in doubt until the October election in Pennsylvania.

There was great enthusiasm for Fremont and Dayton throughout the North and West. Clubs were organized and mass meetings held in almost every town. The cry, "Free speech, free press, free soil, free men, Fremont and victory," was a popular one, and heard on every hand. Pennsylvania, the home of James Buchanan, the Democratic candidate for President, was the principal battleground through the summer and early fall, and the Republicans had high hopes of carrying the state in the October state election, but were to be sadly disappointed. The vote was, however, close and the result in doubt for several days. The Republicans were encouraged to believe that the Quakers had not voted in the state election, but would surely vote for President and for Fremont. Whether they did or not, the result in November was the same as in October and the electoral vote of Pennsylvania was given to Buchanan.

The electoral vote of the country was as follows:

Fremont .....	114
Buchanan .....	174
Fillmore .....	8

And the popular vote:

Fremont .....	1,341,264
Buchanan .....	1,838,169
Fillmore .....	874,538

Connecticut voted as follows:

For John C. Fremont .....	42,717
James Buchanan .....	34,997
Millard Fillmore .....	2,615

The general result was a great blow to the young party that had been so hopeful of success. But it was not to be. An overruling Providence had decreed otherwise. The time had not yet come. There was to be a wait of four years for the election of Abraham Lincoln; and the Civil War must come and the blood of thousands of men be shed, in order that the curse of slavery might be blotted from this country.

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The convention assembled in Music Fund Hall Tuesday, June 17, at 11 o'clock A. M., and was called to order by Hon. Edwin D. Morgan of New York, chairman of the national committee.

Mr. Morgan was born in Washington, Berkshire County, Mass., February 8, 1811. At the age of seventeen he removed to Hartford, Conn., where he entered the store of his uncle, Nathan Morgan, and became a partner in 1831. He was a member of the city council there in 1832. Removing to New York in 1836, he established himself in business and became a successful merchant. During the cholera epidemic he remained in the city to assist the poor. From 1850 till 1863 he was a member of the state Senate, serving at one time as president pro tempore. After the organization of the Republican party in 1856, he served as chairman of the national committee until 1864. He was elected governor of New York in 1856, which office he held until 1862. At the expiration of his term he was elected to

the United States Senate, serving from March 4, 1863, till March 3, 1869. In 1865 he declined the office of secretary of the United States Treasury, which was offered him by President Lincoln. In 1872 he was again the chairman of the Republican national committee, and conducted the successful campaign that resulted in the second election of General Grant. In 1881 President Arthur offered him the portfolio of secretary of the treasury, which he declined.

After calling the convention to order Mr. Morgan made the opening address and nominated for temporary chairman of the convention Hon. Robert Emmet of New York and appointed Moses H. Grinnell of New York and George Hoadley, Jr., of Ohio to conduct Mr. Emmet to the chair. He was received by the convention "amid the most tumultuous applause" and addressed the convention at length. His address must have been received with great enthusiasm, for it is punctuated throughout with "cheers," "loud cheers," "rapturous and prolonged cheering," "tremendous cheering" and similar expressions. They were earnest men in that convention and freely gave expression to their true feelings.

Robert Emmet, a lawyer, and son of Thomas Addis Emmet, an Irish patriot, and nephew of the famous Irish patriot, Robert Emmet, was born in Ireland and came to this country with his father in 1804 when about twelve years of age, and settled in New York city. He was admitted to the bar when a young man, attaining high rank in his profession, and became a justice of the state superior court. He had been, like his father, a Democrat.

Rev. Albert Barnes of Philadelphia then offered prayer.

The various committees were then named by the state delegations.

Those from Connecticut were:

On Credentials, Rules and Appointment—Charles L. English.

On Platform—Thaddeus Welles.

On Permanent Organization—Charles Adams.

General John J. Viele of New York offered the following resolution:

*Resolved*, That the gentlemen in attendance upon this convention, representing the radical free-soil democracy of New York, be invited to take seats as honorary members of this convention.

General Viele said that "there was a delegation here from the 'Council of One Hundred Democrats' of New York who had seceded from the Democratic party of that state. They were the friends of Silas Wright. (Cheers.)

"They are the men who can trace their Democratic pedigree to Tompkins and Clinton, but notwithstanding that, they cannot and will not consent to be harnessed to the car, nor be dragged behind the juggernaut of slavery. (Great applause.) I move, sir, that in compliment to that body of men, who, in 1848, rolled up a free-soil vote of 121,000, these representatives be invited to take seats here as honorary members." (Applause.)

The resolution was unanimously adopted, some of the delegates saying that they would give up their places rather than that the delegation from the "Council of One Hundred" should not have a place in the hall.

The convention then took a recess until 4 o'clock P. M.

On the reassembling of the convention in the afternoon the committee on permanent organization reported the

names of the officers of the convention, naming Colonel Henry S. Lane of Indiana for President and a Vice-President and a secretary for each state represented.

The Vice-President for Connecticut was Chauncey F. Cleveland and the secretary Edgar S. Tweedy. Among the other secretaries was James G. Blaine of Maine, then twenty-six years of age.

Henry S. Lane, the President, was born in Kentucky February 24, 1811. He worked on a farm and attended school at intervals till he was sixteen years old. He began the study of law at eighteen and was admitted to the bar at twenty-one, and removing to Indiana, practiced his profession till 1854. He was in the Legislature in 1837, and the next year was elected to Congress as a Whig, serving until 1843. The defeat of Henry Clay for the Presidency retired Mr. Lane from political life for sixteen years. He became governor of Indiana in 1860 and later was elected to the United States Senate.

The committee appointed to conduct the President to the chair were George W. Patterson of New York, L. J. Churchfield of Ohio, and Samuel A. Purviance of Pennsylvania, and they performed their duty "amid vociferous cheers for the Hoosier state." Colonel Lane's address was enthusiastically received by the convention. It was strong (as was also the address of Mr. Emmet, the temporary chairman), in its denunciations of the course of the Democratic party in attempting to force slavery upon the free Territory of Kansas.

The committee on credentials then reported through its chairman, Hon. Elbridge G. Spaulding of New York, and the report was accepted without discussion.

On motion, Hon. Caleb B. Smith of Indiana (later

secretary of the interior in President Lincoln's cabinet), was invited to address the convention. He was cordially received and made a brief address.

After vehement calls for a great number of gentlemen, Owen Lovejoy of Illinois took the platform "amid loud applause," and his address was enthusiastically received.

A delegate moved that Hon. Henry Wilson, United States senator from Massachusetts, be invited to address the convention. "The motion was enthusiastically adopted and the honorable gentleman designated ascended the platform amid a perfect storm of cheering and applause, again and again renewed." Senator Wilson made an address (only a part of which is given below), that raised the enthusiasm of the convention to the highest pitch. He vehemently denounced the arrogance of the slave power in control of the government and its course toward Kansas, and in referring to the Cincinnati convention which a short time before had nominated James Buchanan for President, he said:

Look now at our friends in Kansas, who are periling all of life and of hope, who lie down at night with the conviction that their little dwelling may be burned over them before morning, or they themselves may be murdered because they love liberty. I say that when these men are thus being sacrificed, it becomes us to sacrifice our personal preferences for the cause of human liberty in America. Gentlemen, civil war rages beyond the Missouri. This administration of Franklin Pierce has forced that war upon us. Franklin Pierce went to the Cincinnati convention with the light of the burning dwellings of Kansas flashing upon his brazen brow. He went there with the blood of the murdered freemen of Kansas dripping from his polluted hands. Aye, that convention spewed out



the thing it had used. It spewed him out, and today he has gone down, too, beneath the withering scorn and contempt of the American people.

Then there is Judge Douglas, the man who brought forward this repeal of the Missouri prohibition of slavery; he went into that convention with his high hopes blasted forever. The slave power saw that it had used Pierce all up. But there was not a particle of life, or of strength or of hope in him, and the slave power flung him out of the window of that Cincinnati convention. The slave power knew that Douglas had forever blasted himself before the American people, and that he never could receive their suffrages. But the slave power wanted a tool—it wanted the vote of a Northern state, and it casts its eye to Pennsylvania and James Buchanan. The present administration now embodied in itself the organized slave interest of the republic. Mr. Buchanan represents this day the Democracy of Franklin Pierce, for he has ceased to be James Buchanan, and must square himself to the platform of the party. The Democratic party supporting this administration—an administration that has plunged this nation into civil war—assembled in convention, adopted a platform dictated by the slave interest of the country, nominated James Buchanan, and he ceased to be a Pennsylvania freeman, and must square his conduct by the terms and conditions of that platform. Now, sir, we wish to defeat James Buchanan, to overthrow that platform, to enthrone Liberty in the government of this republic.

Senator Wilson closed “amid tremendous cheering.” The convention adjourned until the following day at 10 o'clock A. M.

The convention reassembled on Wednesday (the second day) at 10 o'clock A. M., and was called to order by the president. Prayer was offered by Rev. Anson Rood of Philadelphia. The committee on credentials submitted the report of the names and post office addresses of the

members of the convention. Among those from the different states prominent at that time, or who became so later, were the following:

From Maine—James G. Blaine, Anson P. Morrill, Edward Kent and T. A. D. Fessenden.

New Hampshire—Amos Tuck, Daniel Clark, George C. Fogg and A. F. Pike.

Vermont—E. Fairbanks and L. Underwood.

Massachusetts—T. D. Elliot, Charles Allen, Charles Francis Adams, F. W. Bird, John B. Alley, C. R. Train and E. R. Hoar.

Rhode Island—W. Hoppin, W. M. Chace and R. G. Hazard.

Connecticut—Benjamin Silliman, C. F. Cleveland, Dwight Loomis, Augustus Brandegee, Benjamin Douglas, David F. Robinson and Charles Ives.

New York—Philip Dorsheimer, Moses H. Grinnell, James Watson Webb, Preston King, DeWitt C. Littlejohn, John A. King, John Bigelow, E. G. Spaulding, Reuben E. Fenton, Robert Emmet, Isaac Sherman and Jackson S. Schultz.

New Jersey—J. C. Hornblower, D. S. Gregory and L. T. Mulford.

Pennsylvania—David Wilmot, author of the famous "Wilmot Proviso;" Thaddeus Stevens, John Allison, Joseph Ritner and Thomas Williams.

Maryland—Francis P. Blair and John H. Wilson.

Ohio—R. P. Spaulding, W. Dennison, Jr., Alphonso Taft (father of William Howard Taft), George Hoadley, J. M. Ashley, Joshua R. Giddings, Robert G. Corwin, N. H. Swayne and J. Hutchins.

Wisconsin—Rufus King, John F. Potter, Timothy O. Howe and Theodore Newell.

Michigan—Zachariah Chandler, I. P. Christiancy and George Jerome.

Illinois—Norman B. Judd, Owen Lovejoy, John M. Palmer and J. D. Arnold.

Indiana—Henry S. Lane, John D. Defrees and John W. Wright.

Minnesota—Alexander Ramsey and J. B. Phillips.

Kansas—Samuel C. Pomeroy, Martin F. Conway and Samuel N. Wood.

The roll of states and territories was then called for the names selected for members of the national committee. Connecticut named Gideon Welles. The committee met later and chose Edwin D. Morgan of New York chairman and Norman B. Judd of Illinois secretary.

The platform was then reported by Hon. David Wilmot, chairman of the committee. It is well worth printing in full in order that we may know in just what the founders of the Republican party believed:

#### REPUBLICAN PLATFORM.

This convention of delegates, assembled in pursuance of a call addressed to the people of the United States, without regard to past political differences or divisions, who are opposed to the repeal of the Missouri Compromise; to the policy of the present administration; to the extension of slavery into free territory; in favor of the admission of Kansas as a free state; of restoring the action of the federal government to the principles of Washington and Jefferson; and for the purpose of presenting candidates for the offices of President and Vice-President, do

*Resolve*, That the maintenance of the principles promulgated in the Declaration of Independence, and embodied in the Federal Constitution, are essential to the preservation of our republican institutions and that the Federal Constitution, the rights of the states, and the union of the states, must and shall be preserved.

*Resolved*, That with our republican fathers, we hold it to be a self-evident truth, that all men are endowed with the inalienable right to life, liberty and the pursuit of happiness, and that the primary object and ulterior design of our federal

government were to secure these rights to all persons under its exclusive jurisdiction; that as our republican fathers, when they had abolished slavery in all our national territory, ordained that no person shall be deprived of life, liberty, or property, without due process of law, it becomes our duty to maintain this provision of the Constitution against all attempts to violate it for the purpose of establishing slavery in the territories of the United States by positive legislation, prohibiting its existence or extension therein. That we deny the authority of Congress, of a territorial Legislature, of any individuals or association of individuals, to give legal existence to slavery in any territory of the United States, while the present Constitution shall be maintained.

*Resolved*, That the Constitution confers upon Congress sovereign power over the territories of the United States for their government; and that in the exercise of this power, it is both the right and the imperative duty of Congress to prohibit in the territories those two relics of barbarism—polygamy and slavery.

*Resolved*, That while the Constitution of the United States was ordained and established by the people in order to “form a more perfect union, establish justice, insure domestic tranquillity, provide for the common defense, promote the general welfare, and secure the blessings of liberty,” and contains ample provision for the protection of the life, liberty and property of every citizen, the dearest constitutional rights of the people of Kansas have been fraudulently and violently taken from them.

Their territory has been invaded by an armed force. Spurious and pretended legislative, judicial and executive officers have been set over them, by whose usurped authority, sustained by the military power of the government, tyrannical and unconstitutional laws have been enacted and enforced. The right of the people to keep and bear arms has been infringed. Test oaths of an extraordinary and entangling nature have been imposed as a condition of exercising the right of suffrage and holding office; the right of an accused

person to a speedy and public trial by an impartial jury has been denied; the right of the people to be secure in their persons, houses, papers and effects, against unreasonable searches and seizures, has been violated; they have been deprived of life, liberty and property without due process of law; the freedom of speech and of the press has been abridged; the right to choose their representatives has been made of no effect.

Murders, robberies and arsons have been instigated or encouraged, and the offenders have been allowed to go unpunished; that all these things have been done with the knowledge, sanction and procurement of the present national administration; and that for this high crime against the Constitution, the Union and humanity, we arraign that administration, the President, his advisers, agents, supporters, apologists, and accessories, either before or after the fact, before the country and before the world; and that it is our fixed purpose to bring the actual perpetrators of those atrocious outrages and their accomplices to a sure and condign punishment hereafter.

*Resolved*, That Kansas should be immediately admitted as a free state of the Union, with her present free constitution, as at once the most effectual way of securing to her citizens the enjoyment of the rights and privileges to which they are entitled, and of ending the civil strife now raging in her territory.

*Resolved*, That the highwayman's plea that "might makes right," embodied in the Ostend Circular, was in every respect unworthy of American diplomacy, and would bring shame and dishonor upon any government or people that gave it their sanction.

*Resolved*, That a railroad to the Pacific Ocean, by the most central practicable route, is imperatively demanded by the interests of the whole country, and that the federal government ought to render immediate and efficient aid in its construction, and, as an auxiliary thereto, to the immediate construction of an emigrant road on the line of the railroad.

*Resolved*, That the appropriations by Congress for the improvement of rivers and harbors, of a national character, required for the accommodation and security of an existing commerce, are authorized by the Constitution, and justified by the obligations of government to protect the lives and property of its citizens.

*Resolved*, That we invite the affiliation and co-operation of the men of all parties, however differing from us in other respects, in support of the principles herein declared; and believing that the spirit of our institutions, as well as the Constitution of our country, guarantee liberty of conscience and equality of rights among citizens, we oppose all legislation impairing their security.

The platform was adopted with hearty cheers. A resolution was then offered "that the convention proceed immediately to take an informal vote for a candidate for President of the United States, to be supported by the Republican party of the United States." The resolution was opposed by General James Watson Webb of New York and Governor Kent of Maine, the latter favoring a committee of conference composed of three from each state and one from each territory, for an interchange of opinion, and that the balloting be postponed until the following morning. Hon. Charles Francis Adams was in favor of proceeding to a ballot immediately. After further discussion, and the voting down of an amendment for the committee of conference and postponement, the resolution prevailed.

Judge Spaulding of Ohio then took the floor and said that he had been requested to withdraw from the present controversy the name of a man whom he had intimately known for forty years, than whom a better or purer man did not live. Judge Spaulding then read the

letter from Judge John McLean, then a justice of the United States supreme court, having been appointed by President Jackson in 1830.

T. G. Mitchell of Ohio said that he had another communication to read. He then read a letter from Salmon P. Chase, then governor of Ohio, in which he expressed a wish to have his name withdrawn from the convention as a candidate for President.

On motion of Moses H. Grinnell of New York the convention took a recess until 5 o'clock.

On the reassembling of the convention in the afternoon a letter was read from the National American Convention, then in session in New York, signed by George Law, in which a desire was expressed for a conference between committees of the two conventions.

A resolution was offered by DeWitt C. Littlejohn of New York, that the letter be received by the convention and that the same be referred to a committee, to consist of one member from each state represented, to report what action in their judgment ought to be taken by the convention thereupon. Mr. Littlejohn said that he was "strongly in favor of a union with all friends of freedom."

Joshua R. Giddings said it pained him to be compelled to oppose the resolution. He said the convention "had invited all to come in who were opposed to the present administration." If a committee were appointed to confer with the Americans, he should wish the committee appointed to confer also with conventions or other bodies representing citizens of foreign birth. He "therefore moved that the whole subject do lie upon the table." The motion prevailed.

The president declared the business now in order to be pursuant to the resolution adopted in the morning, to proceed to take an informal vote for a candidate for President of the United States. The names of no candidates were presented to the convention.

Judge Spaulding of Ohio, by general consent, announced that he withdrew the withdrawal this morning made by him, of the name of John McLean of Ohio, as a candidate for President.

The President appointed Edward B. Morgan of New York and Thomas Scott of Indiana, "tellers to take the vote." By way of commentary on the ballots respectively cast, several delegates stated the motives by which they were influenced, and the instructions which they had received from their constituents.

The informal ballot resulted as follows:

John C. Fremont of California.....	359
John McLean of Ohio .....	204
Nathaniel P. Banks of Massachusetts .....	1
Charles Sumner of Massachusetts .....	2
William H. Seward of New York .....	1

The following is the vote in detail:

	Fremont	McLean	Banks	Sumner	Seward
Maine .....	13	11	..	..	..
New Hampshire .....	15	14	..	..	..
Vermont .....	15	..	..	..	..
Massachusetts .....	39	..	..	..	..
Rhode Island .....	12	..	..	..	..
Connecticut .....	18	..	..	..	..
New York .....	93	3	1	2	1
New Jersey .....	7	14	..	..	..
Pennsylvania .....	10	71	..	..	..
Delaware .....	..	9	..	..	..
Maryland .....	4	3	..	..	..



## 22      FIRST REPUBLICAN NATIONAL CONVENTION

	Fremont	McLean	Banks	Sumner	Seward
Kentucky .....	5	..	..	..	..
Ohio .....	30	39	..	..	..
Indiana .....	18	21	..	..	..
Illinois .....	14	19	..	..	..
Michigan .....	18	..	..	..	..
Iowa .....	12	..	..	..	..
Wisconsin .....	15	..	..	..	..
California .....	12	..	..	..	..
Kansas .....	9	..	..	..	..
	<hr/> 359	<hr/> 204	<hr/> 1	<hr/> 2	<hr/> 1

General James Watson Webb then offered a resolution "that John C. Fremont of California be, and he hereby is, unanimously nominated by this convention by acclamation, as the Republican candidate for President of the United States," and made a short speech in support of his resolution, which was loudly cheered. David Wilmot also favored the resolution in a brief address.

At this point in the proceedings the order of business was suspended and Joshua R. Giddings in a few remarks moved to reconsider the vote by which the resolution of Mr. Littlejohn in favor of appointing a committee to confer with a similar committee from the National American Convention, was laid upon the table. The motion was discussed by Mr. Littlejohn, Thomas D. Elliott of Massachusetts, ex-Governor Chauncey F. Cleveland of Connecticut, Owen Lovejoy of Illinois, Judge E. Rockwood Hoar of Massachusetts, ex-Governor Ritner of Pennsylvania, and others, and the motion adopted, and the resolution of Mr. Littlejohn passed with an amendment substituting the committee on the platform in place of the committee of one from each state.

The previous order of business was then resumed and on motion the resolution of General Webb was amended so as to read as follows:

*Resolved*, That this convention do immediately proceed to take a formal vote for a Republican candidate for President of the United States.

And, as thus amended, the same was adopted. The tellers on the former vote having been reappointed, on calling the states, the formal vote resulted as follows:

John C. Fremont of California .....	520
John McLean of Ohio .....	37
William H. Seward of New York .....	1

The following is the vote in detail:

	Fremont	McLean	Seward
Maine .....	24	..	..
New Hampshire .....	15	..	..
Vermont .....	15	..	..
Massachusetts .....	39	..	..
Rhode Island .....	12	..	..
Connecticut .....	18	..	..
New York .....	105	..	..
New Jersey .....	21	..	..
Pennsylvania .....	57	23	1
Delaware .....	9	..	..
Maryland .....	7	..	..
Kentucky .....	5	..	..
Ohio .....	55	14	..
Indiana .....	39	..	..
Illinois .....	33	..	..
Michigan .....	18	..	..
Iowa .....	12	..	..
Wisconsin .....	15	..	..
California .....	12	..	..
Kansas .....	9	..	..
	<hr/> 520	<hr/> 37	<hr/> 1

General Webb then offered the following resolution:

*Resolved*, "That this convention do unanimously nominate John C. Fremont of California to be the Republican candidate for President of the United States at the ensuing election."

The president said all who were in favor of that would signify the same by giving three hearty cheers, "and they were given lustily and three more, and a great many after that."

A scene of wild and boundless enthusiasm ensued, baffling all description. The convention arose in a body, took off their hats and waved them, shouting the while.

On the platform, as soon as the vote was declared, a large white banner was raised with "John C. Fremont for President of the United States" upon it. In front of the platform there was raised a star-spangled banner, with a similar inscription. Banners were also displayed from the windows to notify outsiders and the shouts within the hall were caught up and echoed by the crowd in the streets.

As soon as the wild enthusiasm of the convention could be somewhat subdued, and after everybody had become hoarse with cheering, Judge Emmet moved that the convention adjourn until 10 o'clock the following morning, which was carried and the convention accordingly adjourned.

The convention reassembled on Thursday (the third day) at 10 o'clock A. M. Rev. Mr. Levy of Philadelphia offered prayer. This is the same clergyman who was introduced to the convention at Philadelphia in 1900, and spoken of by the chairman as having offered prayer

at the 1856 convention, which incident was mentioned in the paper on the 1900 convention.

Edward W. Whelpley of New Jersey offered a resolution "that this convention do immediately proceed to take an informal vote for a candidate for Vice-President of the United States, to be supported by the Republican party at the ensuing election." The resolution was adopted. Mr. Whelpley then proposed the name of the Hon. William L. Dayton of New Jersey, "amid loud and reiterated cheering." Hon. John Allison of Pennsylvania said he had "been requested to nominate as a candidate for the Vice-Presidency, Abraham Lincoln of Illinois. (Cheers.) He knew him to be the prince of good fellows, and an old-line Whig." (Cheers.)

Colonel William B. Archer of Illinois said he had been acquainted with the man who had been named (Lincoln) for thirty years and he knew him well. He was born in gallant Kentucky, and was now in the prime of life—about 47 years of age—and enjoying remarkably good health. And besides he knew him to be as pure a patriot as ever lived. Judge Spaulding of Ohio asked: "Can he fight?" Colonel Archer replied emphatically, "Yes! (Great applause.) Have I not told you that he was born in Kentucky? He's strong mentally; he's strong physically; he's strong every way."

Mr. Jay of New Jersey said he was an old-line Democrat; he had always been a Democrat until the present administration, having thrown aside Democratic principles, he could remain with the party no longer. He had helped to elect Pierce, for which he hoped to be forgiven. (Applause.) He continued his remarks, advocating the nomination of William L. Dayton. John A.

Fisher of Pennsylvania proposed the name of David Wilmot. The order of business was suspended temporarily in order that resolutions adopted by the Republican state convention of Pennsylvania which had just adjourned, giving its "earnest assent" to the nomination of Colonel John C. Fremont as a candidate of the party for the Presidency and promising for him their "united and most hearty support," might be presented to the convention.

Judge John M. Palmer of Illinois seconded the nomination of Abraham Lincoln. He said he, too, had been an old-line Democrat, and was very sorry for his last vote. He had known Lincoln long and knew he was a good man and a hard worker in the field, although he had never heard him—"for when he was on the stump I always dodged. He is my first choice and I am going to name my next boy after him. (Laughter and applause.) We can lick Buchanan any way, but I think we can do it a little easier if we have Lincoln on the ticket with John C. Fremont."

Anthony J. Bleeker of New York presented the name of John A. King. The order of business was suspended to receive the report of the committee upon the subject of the communication received from the National American Convention. It recommended the appointment of a committee of three "to address all the parties in the country that are in sympathy with the objects and purposes of the Republican party." The president appointed as the committee the following: Francis P. Blair of Maryland, G. T. Brown of Illinois and Elbridge G. Spaulding of New York. The president then announced that an informal vote for a candidate for Vice-President

was the business in order and appointed as tellers: Colonel William B. Archer of Illinois and Judge R. P. Spaulding of Ohio. The informal vote resulted as follows:

William L. Dayton of New Jersey .....	253
Abraham Lincoln of Illinois .....	110
Nathaniel P. Banks of Massachusetts .....	46
David Wilmot of Pennsylvania .....	43
Charles Sumner of Massachusetts .....	35
Jacob Collamer of Vermont .....	15
John A. King of New York .....	9
Samuel C. Pomeroy of Kansas .....	8
Thomas H. Ford of Ohio .....	7
Cassius M. Clay of Kentucky .....	3
Henry C. Carey of Pennsylvania .....	3

Joshua R. Giddings of Ohio, Whitefield S. Johnson of New Jersey and Henry Wilson of Massachusetts received two votes each, and Aaron S. Pennington of New Jersey 1.

Connecticut cast 1 vote for Dayton and 17 for Banks. New York's vote was most generally distributed. It went: Dayton 15, Lincoln 3, Banks 24, Wilmot 1, King 9, Sumner 30, Ford 6, and Clay 1.

Mr. Elliot then withdrew the name of Nathaniel P. Banks in a speech that was loudly cheered throughout.

Thaddeus Stevens of Pennsylvania withdrew the name of David Wilmot.

Mr. Root of Ohio said:

"Sir: This morning I had a conversation with Governor Ford of Ohio. Said he: 'The boys may be troubling you with my name. I want to fight but don't let them buckle a knapsack on me. I can fight better light.' We can't spare Tom Ford. We want him for home consumption." (Loud cheers.)

Hon. E. Rockwood Hoar then offered a resolution that the convention proceed to take a formal ballot for a candidate for Vice-President, which was adopted. The same tellers were appointed by the president. While the vote was being taken Judge Palmer in behalf of the Illinois delegation withdrew the name of Abraham Lincoln and cast the entire vote of that state for William L. Dayton.

Pennsylvania voted unanimously for Dayton, as did all the other states, resulting in the nomination of William L. Dayton by a vote of 561, the entire vote of the convention.

When the nomination was made "the whole convention rose and gave nine hearty cheers."

Mr. Ashley of Ohio offered a resolution "that a committee of nine be appointed by the president to inform the nominees of their nomination and request their acceptance of the same."

Ex-Governor Cleveland of Connecticut was named as a member of the committee, and the president, Colonel Henry S. Lane, was added to the committee as chairman. Governor Cleveland now took the chair. Speeches were then made by Mr. Schneider of Illinois, the editor of a German paper; Senator Wills of California, Zachariah Chandler of Michigan, J. Van Dyke of New Jersey, John P. Hale of New Hampshire, Philip Dorsheimer and John A. King of New York, Judge Hoadley of Ohio, Governor Kent of Maine, Senator Henry Wilson, David Wilmot, Daniel P. Tyler of Connecticut and many others. It was a veritable love feast and the speeches were all received with loud cheering and the greatest enthusiasm throughout their delivery. Daniel

P. Tyler of Connecticut made one of the most eloquent and forcible. He said, in part, "The single issue before this country is, freedom or slavery. They told us that disunion would result. Would Virginia secede? The ashes of Jefferson forbade it. Would Kentucky secede? There was a subterranean power that forbade it. They must first remove the bones of Henry Clay ('And they must kill Cassius M. Clay, too'). They were going to prevent disunion, peaceably if they could, forcibly if they must. He was going to act; he was going to Kansas. (Enthusiastic cheers.) God Almighty, the giver of all good gifts, who planted the central fire in the earth, had planted in our bosoms the fires of liberty. Stephen A. Douglas, with his Nebraska bill, had subsoiled half a continent. He should see the fruit of it." (Immense cheering and waving of handkerchiefs.) Resolutions were then introduced and passed thanking the officers of the convention for the courteous and efficient manner in which they had discharged their duties, and also the people of Philadelphia for their hospitality and kindness, and also the reporters of the public press for their faithful and efficient services. "And with hearty cheers for the platform, led off by Governor Cleveland in the chair, and nine tremendous cheers for the candidates, in the best of feeling," the convention adjourned sine die.

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The committee appointed to notify John C. Fremont and William L. Dayton of their nomination later discharged that duty and both candidates accepted.

Colonel John C. Fremont was born in Savannah, Ga., January 13, 1813. When about 25 years of age he turned his attention to civil engineering and undertook the exploration



of the country between the Missouri and the British frontier. Shortly afterward, he proposed to the government to undertake the exploration of the Rocky Mountains, at that day an unknown part of the country. His plan being approved, he in 1842 started with a handful of picked men, and reached and explored the South Pass, and designated the points upon which a line of United States forts were subsequently erected. In 1845 he cleared the north part of California of Mexican troops, and then, seeking a broader field of activity, planned an expedition to the distant Territory of Oregon. He approached the Rocky Mountains by a new line, scaled the summit of the South Pass, deflected to the Great Salt Lake, pushed investigations right and left his entire course and at the same time connected his survey with that of Commodore Wilkes' exploring expedition. Later in the winter, without adequate supplies, or a guide, he traversed the wilderness to the Rocky Mountains. In this daring expedition he crossed 3,500 miles of country in sight of eternal snows, discovering the grand feature of Alta, California, its great basin, the Sierra Nevada, the valleys of San Joaquin and Sacramento and determined the geographical position of the west portion of the North American continent. He became known as the "Pathfinder." In 1846 he was promoted military commandant and civil governor of the Territory of California, in which capacity in 1847 concluded those articles of capitulation by which Mexico conceded exclusive possessions of that territory to the United States.

There was much in Fremont's life which had been one of adventure, to appeal to the young men of the country.

He received from President Taylor in 1849 the appointment of commissioner to run the boundary line between the United States and Mexico, but, having been elected by the Legislature of California in December of that year to represent the new state in the United States Senate, he resigned his commissionership and departed for Washington by way of the isthmus. He took his seat in the Senate September 10, 1850, the day after the admission of California as a state.

In drawing lots for the terms of the respective senators, Fremont drew the short term, ending March 4, 1851.

The Senate remained in session but three weeks after the admission of California, and during that period Fremont devoted himself almost exclusively to measures relating to the interests of the state he represented. For this purpose he introduced and advocated a comprehensive series of bills, embracing almost every object of legislation demanded by the peculiar circumstances of California. In the state election of 1851 in California the anti-slavery party, of which Fremont was one of the leaders, was defeated, and he consequently failed of re-election to the Senate, after 142 ballotings.

After devoting two years to his private affairs, he visited Europe in 1852, and spent a year there, being received with distinction by many eminent men of letters and of science. He had already, in 1850, received a gold medal from the King of Prussia for his discoveries, had been awarded the founder's medal of the Royal Geographical Society of London, and had been elected an honorary member of the Geographical Society of Berlin.

William L. Dayton was born in New Jersey February 17, 1807. He was graduated at Princeton in 1825. He studied law in Litchfield, Conn., and was admitted to the bar in 1830, beginning his practice in Trenton, N. J. In 1837 he was elected to the state council, as the Senate was then called, being made chairman of the judiciary committee. He became associate judge of the supreme court of the state in 1838 and in 1842 was appointed to fill a vacancy in the United States Senate. His appointment was confirmed by the Legislature in 1845 and he was also elected for the whole term. In the Senate debates on the Oregon question, the tariff, annexation of Texas and the Mexican War, he took the position of a free soil Whig. He was the friend and adviser of President Taylor and opposed the fugitive slave bill, but advocated the admission of California as a free state and the abolition of slavery in the District of Columbia.



**THE SECOND  
REPUBLICAN NATIONAL  
CONVENTION**



ABRAHAM LINCOLN

REPUBLICAN  
CANDIDATES

1860



HANNIBAL HAMLIN

THE SECOND REPUBLICAN NATIONAL CONVENTION  
HELD AT CHICAGO, ILL., MAY 16-19, 1860

*For President*—ABRAHAM LINCOLN, of Illinois

*For Vice-President*—HANNIBAL HAMLIN, of Maine

The Republican party, organized in 1856 at a National Convention held in Philadelphia June 17, with Fremont and Dayton as its standard bearers, and, although defeated in the election following by Buchanan and Breckenridge, continued to grow in strength and numbers throughout the North until it met for its second National Convention in Chicago on May 16, 1860. During that interval the people of the North had been greatly stirred by the attempt of the Democratic party under the administration of James Buchanan to force slavery into the then free Territories of Kansas and Nebraska. The decision of Chief Justice Taney, read on March 6, 1857, two days after Mr. Buchanan's inauguration, in which he declared that "the negro had no rights which the white man was bound to respect," had excited intense interest throughout the country on account of its extreme position

in favor of slavery. The great debates had taken place between Abraham Lincoln and Stephen A. Douglas in Illinois. The regular Democratic National Convention had met in Charleston in April, 1860, and after a bitter contest had split into two factions, each to meet later in separate conventions in Baltimore and Richmond to nominate candidates for President and Vice-President.

Abraham Lincoln had made his famous speech in Cooper Institute, New York, on February 27, 1860, and later, in March, had made several speeches in the state campaign in Connecticut, at which time the noted Wide Awake organization was started in Hartford, and acted as Lincoln's escort to his meeting there. The Republican party in Connecticut had again nominated Governor Buckingham for re-election, he having already been twice elected. The Democrats had nominated their strongest and most popular man against him in the person of Colonel Thomas H. Seymour of Hartford, a gallant officer in the war with Mexico, who had been governor from 1850 to 1853, and was then appointed by President Pierce minister to Russia, remaining in that position until 1857. The contest was exciting and fought with great vigor on both sides, on account of the supposed effect the result would have upon the Presidential election in the November following.

The state election at that time took place annually on the first Monday in April. Governor Buckingham was elected by 541 majority in a total vote of about 88,000.

Rhode Island, a few days later, elected, after a close contest, William Sprague, the Republican candidate for Governor, who later became United States Senator.

The Republican state convention of Connecticut, held in the previous January, had chosen delegates to the National Convention as follows:

AT LARGE.

Gideon Welles, Hartford; Eleazer K. Foster, New Haven; Chauncey F. Cleveland, Hampton; Alexander H. Holley, Salisbury.

DISTRICT.

First—Samuel Q. Porter, Unionville; Leverett E. Pease, Somers.

Second—Stephen W. Kellogg, Waterbury; Arthur B. Calef, Middletown.

Third—Henry H. Starkweather, Norwich; David Gallup, Plainfield.

Fourth—Edgar S. Tweedy, Danbury; George H. Noble, New Milford.

Of the delegates chosen, the most prominent at that time were the four delegates at large. They were all older men. Gideon Welles, a former Democrat, had been the editor and a part owner of the HARTFORD TIMES from 1826 to 1854, but retired from responsible editorship in 1836. He was postmaster of Hartford from 1836 to 1842; state comptroller from 1842 to 1844; one of the organizers of the Republican party, and became its first candidate for governor in 1856, and later was to be secretary of navy under President Lincoln. Chauncey F. Cleveland, also a former Democrat, had been a member of the Legislature several sessions, was speaker of the House of Representatives in 1835 and 1836, was governor from 1842 to 1844, and a member of congress from 1849 to 1853.

Eleazer K. Foster had been a judge of one of the state courts.

Alexander H. Holley had been lieutenant governor in 1854 and 1855, and governor in 1857 and 1858.

Of the other delegates many later became prominent in state politics :

Samuel Q. Porter as a member of the Legislature for many sessions; Leverett E. Pease as secretary of state; David Gallup as speaker of the House and lieutenant governor, and Henry H. Starkweather and Stephen W. Kellogg as representatives in Congress, each for several sessions.

It had been arranged that the delegates from New York and from New England should spend the Sunday preceding the assembling of the convention at Niagara Falls and take a special train early the following morning for Chicago.

My father, one of the delegates from Connecticut invited me—then a boy—to accompany him. At Niagara Falls there were many of the prominent Republicans of New York and New England, among whom were William M. Evarts, George William Curtis, United States Senator Preston King of New York and Governor George S. Boutwell and John A. Andrew of Massachusetts.

The special train arrived in Chicago about 9:30 in the evening. The city was alive with excitement. Bands were playing, the Wide Awakes were parading in large numbers and the streets were crowded with enthusiastic people.

The following day I visited the leading hotels to find the lobbies filled with delegates and others talking earnestly and excitedly with each other.



Horace Greeley was to be seen walking around and chatting with different ones.

William H. Seward of New York, a former governor and then United States senator, was the leading candidate for the nomination for President and his supporters were confident of his nomination, while there were several other candidates, including Lincoln, Chase, Bates and Cameron, not one of whom had the strong support given to New York's favorite son.

Horace Greeley, in past years as a member of the Whig party, had been closely connected with Seward and Thurlow Weed in New York state politics, but there had been a disagreement among them, and as Mr. Greeley expressed it in the *TRIBUNE*, the firm of "Seward, Weed & Co." was dissolved. So Mr. Greeley could not, or would not, support the candidacy of Mr. Seward, but in the *TRIBUNE* advocated the nomination of Edward Bates of Missouri, considering it good policy to take a man from one of the border states.

He was chosen a delegate from Oregon. The Chicago papers on the first day of the convention mentioned that Mr. Greeley had been seen around the lobby of one of the hotels with a placard, "For President, William H. Seward," pinned on the back of his swallow-tail coat! It was considered quite a good joke. The convention was held in the big Wigwam built expressly for the purpose. It was a rough structure. A large platform running the entire width was reserved for the delegates, and on it were the standards with the names of the states to indicate where the delegates were to sit. The remainder of the first floor was for the spectators who had tickets of admission, but there were no seats for them. The floor

gradually rose from the platform to the front of the building with wide steps or landings, one above the other, so as to afford a view of the platform and delegates.

There was a gallery running around three sides of the building for ladies and gentlemen accompanying them. I had no lady to take, so, during all the sessions of the convention, for three days, I stood packed in the crowd without even elbow room. In all Republican National Conventions since seats have been furnished spectators.

On Wednesday, May 16, the first day of the convention, the Wigwam was crowded with people and the large crowds outside were unable to obtain admission. Governor Edwin D. Morgan of New York, chairman of the national committee, called the convention to order and made a brief address. David Wilmot of Pennsylvania, author of the celebrated "Wilmot Proviso," was proposed for temporary chairman, and made a speech that created much enthusiasm. Rev. Z. Humphrey then offered prayer.

David Wilmot was born in Bethany, Pa., January 20, 1814. He received an academical education at Bethany and at Aurora, N. Y., was admitted to the bar at Wilkesbarre, Pa., in 1834; and soon began the practice of law at Towanda, where he afterward resided. His support of Martin Van Buren in the Presidential canvass of 1836 brought him into public notice, and he was subsequently sent to Congress as a Democrat, serving from December 1, 1845, to March 3, 1851. During the session of 1846, while a bill was pending to appropriate \$2,000,000 for the purchase of a part of Mexico, he moved an amendment "that neither slavery nor involuntary servitude shall ever exist in any part of said territory."

This, which became known as the "Wilmot Proviso," passed the House, but was rejected by the Senate, and gave rise to the

free soil movement. Mr. Wilmot was judge of the thirteenth district of Pennsylvania in 1853-1861, but was defeated as the Republican candidate for governor in 1857.

The usual committees were then appointed and after some discussion, in which Horace Greeley, William M. Evarts, Governor Reeder of Pennsylvania, Governor Boutwell of Massachusetts and Chauncey F. Cleveland of Connecticut took part, the convention adjourned until 5 o'clock P. M.

Soon after the opening of the afternoon session George Ashmun of Massachusetts was named for President of the convention. Senator Preston King and Carl Schurz were appointed to conduct him to the chair. His address was received with great enthusiasm.

George Ashmun was born in Blandford, Mass., December 25, 1804. He was graduated at Yale in 1823, studied law, and was admitted to the bar in 1828 at Springfield, Mass. In 1833, 1835, 1836 and 1841 he was elected a member of the lower branch of the Massachusetts Legislature, and during the last term he was speaker of the House. He was state senator in 1838-39. He was elected to Congress in 1845 and served continuously until 1851, being a member of the committees on the judiciary, Indian affairs and rules. He was a great admirer of Daniel Webster, and although he did not follow the latter in his abandonment of the Wilmot Proviso, defended him in the ensuing quarrels; his replies to Charles J. Ingersoll of Pennsylvania and Charles Allen of Massachusetts, when they assailed Webster with personal and political bitterness, were among the strongest efforts of his career in congress. Subsequent to his retirement from political life he devoted his attention to the practice of his profession.

Chauncey F. Cleveland was named for Vice-President from Connecticut, and Henry H. Starkweather for sec-

retary. Stephen W. Kellogg was a member of the committee on resolutions, Eleazer K. Foster on credentials, Arthur B. Calef on permanent organization and George H. Noble on order of business.

On the second day (Thursday) the convention met at 10 o'clock A. M. Prayer was offered by Rev. W. W. Patten. The report of the committee on credentials was presented, upon which there was a lengthy discussion in regard to the representation of some of the states named. Among those taking part were David Wilmot, Montgomery Blair of Maryland (afterward postmaster general in President Lincoln's cabinet) and Chauncey F. Cleveland.

Prayer was offered by Rev. W. W. Patten.

Prominent among the delegates were the following from the different states, in addition to those already named from Connecticut:

Maine—William H. Crillis, John L. Stevens, Samuel J. Hersey.

New Hampshire—Edward H. Rollins, Aaron H. Cragin, William Haile, Amos Tuck.

Vermont—E. N. Briggs, Peter T. Washburn, John W. Stewart.

Massachusetts—John A. Andrew, George S. Boutwell, William Claflin, Ensign H. Kellogg, Edward L. Pierce, Samuel Hooper, Eben F. Stone.

Rhode Island—James T. Simmons, Benjamin T. Eames, Rowland T. Hazard.

New York—William M. Evarts, Preston King, Henry R. Selden, George William Curtis, John A. King, William Curtis Noyce, James W. Nye, Theodore M. Pomeroy, James S. T. Stranahan, John L. Schoolcraft, Giles W. Hotchkiss.

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New Jersey—F. T. Frelinghuysen, Thomas H. Dudley, Dudley S. Gregory, John I. Blair, Ephraim Marsh, Marcus L. Ward.

Pennsylvania—David Wilmot, Thaddeus Stevens, Andrew H. Reeder, Morrow B. Lowry, William D. Kelly, William B. Mann, James McManus.

Delaware—Nathaniel B. Smithers, Joshua T. Heald, Benjamin C. Hopkins.

Maryland—Francis P. Blair, William L. Marshall, Montgomery Blair, James T. Wagner.

Ohio—Joshua R. Giddings, D. K. Cartter, V. B. Horton, Benjamin Eggleston, Frederick Hassaurek, Thomas Corwin, Columbus Delano, William H. West, Willard Warner.

Indiana—Daniel D. Pratt, Caleb B. Smith, S. P. Oyler, William W. Connor, John M. Wallace.

Michigan—Austin Blair, Thomas W. Ferry, J. J. St. Clair, J. G. Peterson, Alex. D. Crane.

Illinois—Norman B. Judd, Gustave Koerner, David Davis, Orville H. Browning, Burton C. Cook, Jason Marsh, Thomas A. Marshall.

Wisconsin—Carl Schurz, Hans Crocker, John P. McGregor, Elisha Morrow.

Iowa—John A. Kasson, James F. Wilson, William Penn Clark, William B. Allison, John B. Grinnell.

Minnesota—John W. North, Stephen Miller, Aaron Goodrich, Simeon Smith.

Missouri—Francis P. Blair, Jr., B. Gratz Brown, Thomas Fletcher, Asa S. Jones, James Lindsay.

California—F. P. Tracy, A. A. Sargent, Charles Watrous, D. W. Cheesman.

Oregon—Joel Burlingame, Horace Greeley (of New York), Frank Johnson.

Kansas—A. C. Wilder, John A. Martin, William A. Phillips, W. W. Ross.

Nebraska—O. W. Irish, E. D. Webster, John R. Meredith, A. S. Paddock.

The committee on resolutions then reported the platform—which was received with great applause. It met with such cordial approval by the delegates that the chairman of the Ohio delegation, D. K. Cartter, moved its adoption and the previous question upon the motion.

Then it was that the venerable Johsua R. Giddings of Ohio arose to address the convention, amid great confusion.

After an exciting discussion the previous question was not sustained and debate was in order. Mr. Giddings took the floor and proposed an amendment after the first resolution as a declaration of principles, the following from the Declaration of Independence: "That we solemnly reassert the self-evident truths that all men are endowed by their creator with certain inalienable rights, among which are those of life, liberty and the pursuit of happiness, that governments are instituted among men to secure the enjoyment of these rights."

Mr. Giddings made an impassioned speech in favor of his amendment which aroused great enthusiasm. The amendment was opposed by many delegates as unnecessary; that it was already, in substance, incorporated in the platform. One delegate said that he believed in the ten commandments but did not wish them in the platform. The amendment was lost and Mr. Giddings, greatly disappointed, started to leave the convention but was persuaded to remain. A little later in the proceedings while the platform was still under discussion, George William Curtis proposed to the second clause of the report of the committee on the platform the same amendment Mr. Giddings had offered to the first clause and had been voted down. It was opposed, as had been the first, whereupon

Mr. Curtis took the floor and made a brief speech, which aroused tremendous cheering. It was eloquent and intensely earnest. I well remember the thrilling effect it had on all who heard it, particularly when he said at the close, "I ask, gentlemen to think well before, upon the free prairies of the West, in the summer of 1860, they dare to wince and quail before the men who in Philadelphia in 1776—in Philadelphia in the Arch Keystone state, so ably, so nobly represented upon this platform today—before they dare to shrink from repeating the words that these great men enunciated." So great was the effect of his remarks that the amendment was adopted amid the greatest enthusiasm, as was also the platform as a whole.

The remarks of Mr. Curtis in full were as follows:

I have a word to say on that amendment. I have to ask this convention—the second National Convention the Republican party has ever held—I have to ask this convention whether they are prepared to go upon the record and before the country as voting down the words of the Declaration of Independence? I have, sir, in the amendment which I have introduced, quoted simply and only from the Declaration of Independence.

Bear in mind that in Philadelphia in 1856, the convention of this same great party were not afraid to announce those principles by which alone the Republican party lives, and upon which alone the future of this country in the hands of the Republican party is passing.

Now, sir, I ask gentlemen gravely to consider that in the amendment which I have proposed, I have done nothing that the soundest and safest man in all the land might not do, and I rise simply to ask gentlemen to think well before, upon the free prairies of the West, in the summer of 1860, they dare to wince and quail before the men, who in Philadelphia in

1776—in Philadelphia, in the Arch Keystone state, so ably, so nobly represented upon this platform today—before they dare to shrink from repeating the words that these great men enunciated.

#### THE PLATFORM.

The platform as amended was as follows:

*Resolved*, That we, the delegated representatives of the Republican electors of the United States, in convention assembled, in discharge of the duty we owe to our constituents and to our country, unite in the following declarations:

1. That the history of the nation during the last four years has fully established the propriety and necessity of the organization and perpetuation of the Republican party, and that the causes which called it into existence are permanent in their nature, and now more than ever before, demand its peaceful and constitutional triumph.

2. That the maintenance of the principles promulgated in the Declaration of Independence and embodied in the Federal Constitution, "That all men are created equal; that they are endowed by their Creator with certain inalienable rights; that among these are life, liberty and the pursuit of happiness; that to secure these rights, governments were instituted among men, deriving their just powers from the consent of the governed," is essential to the preservation of our Republican institutions; and that the Federal Constitution, the Rights of the States and the Union of the States must and shall be preserved.

3. That to the Union of the States this nation owes its unprecedented increase in population, its surprising development of material resources, its rapid augmentation of wealth, its happiness at home and its honor abroad; and we hold in abhorrence all schemes for disunion, come from whatever source they may. And we congratulate the country that no Republican member of Congress has uttered or countenanced the threats of disunion so often made by Democratic members, without rebuke and with applause from their political



associates; and we denounce those threats of disunion, in case of a popular overthrow of their ascendancy as denying the vital principles of a free government, and as an avowal of contemplated treason, which it is the imperative duty of an indignant people sternly to rebuke and forever silence.

4. That the maintenance inviolate of the rights of the states, and especially the right of each state to order and control its own domestic institutions according to its own judgment exclusively, is essential to the balance of power on which the perfection and endurance of our political fabric depends; and we denounce the lawless invasion by armed force of the soil of any state or territory, no matter under what pretext, as among the gravest of crimes.

5. That the present Democratic administration has far exceeded our worst apprehensions, in its measureless subserviency to the exactions of a sectional interest, as especially evinced in its desperate exertions to force the infamous Le-compton Constitution upon the protesting people of Kansas: in construing the personal relation between master and servant to involve an unqualified property in persons; in its attempted enforcement, everywhere, on land and sea, through the intervention of Congress and of the Federal Courts of the extreme pretensions of a purely local interest; and in its general and unvarying abuse of the power entrusted to it by a confiding people.

6. That the people justly view with alarm the reckless extravagance which pervades every department of the Federal Government; that a return to rigid economy and accountability is indispensable to arrest the systematic plunder of the public treasury by favored partisans; while the recent startling developments of frauds and corruption at the Federal metropolis show that an entire change of administration is imperatively demanded.

7. That the new dogma that the Constitution, of its own force, carried slavery into any or all of the territories of the United States, is a dangerous political heresy, at variance with the explicit provisions of that instrument itself, with

contemporaneous exposition, and with legislative and judicial precedent; is revolutionary in its tendency, and subversive of the peace and harmony of the country.

8. That the normal condition of all the territory of the United States is that of freedom. That as our Republican fathers, when they had abolished slavery in all our national territory, ordained that "no person should be deprived of life, liberty or property, without due process of law," it becomes our duty, by legislation, whenever such legislation is necessary, to maintain this provision of the Constitution against all attempts to violate it; and we deny the authority of Congress, of a territorial legislature, or of any individuals, to give legal existence to slavery in any territory of the United States.

9. That we brand the recent reopening of the African slave trade, under the cover of our national flag, aided by the perversions of judicial power, as a crime against humanity and a burning shame to our country and age; and we call upon Congress to take prompt and efficient measures for the total and final suppression of that execrable traffic.

10. That in the recent vetoes, by their Federal Governors, of the acts of the legislatures of Kansas and Nebraska, prohibiting slavery in those territories, we find a practical illustration of the boasted Democratic principle of Non-Intervention and Popular Sovereignty embodied in the Kansas-Nebraska bill, and a demonstration of the deception and fraud involved therein.

11. That Kansas should, of right, be immediately admitted as a state under the Constitution recently formed and adopted by her people, and accepted by the House of Representatives.

12. That, while providing revenue for the support of the general government by duties upon imports, sound policy requires such an adjustment of these imposts as to encourage the development of the industrial interests of the whole country; and we commend that policy of national exchanges, which secures to the working men liberal wages, to agriculture remunerating prices, to mechanics and manufacturers

an adequate reward for their skill, labor and enterprise, and to the nation commercial prosperity and independence.

13. That we protest against any sale or alienation to others of the public lands held by actual settlers, and against any view of the free homestead policy which regards the settlers as paupers or suppliants for public bounty; and we demand the passage by Congress of the complete and satisfactory homestead measure, which has already passed the House.

14. That the Republican party is opposed to any change in our naturalization laws or any state legislation by which the rights of citizenship hitherto accorded to immigrants from foreign lands shall be abridged or impaired; and in favor of giving a full and efficient protection to the rights of all classes of citizens, whether native or naturalized, both at home and abroad.

15. That appropriations by Congress for river and harbor improvements of a national character, required for the accommodation and security of an existing commerce, are authorized by the Constitution, and justified by the obligation of government to protect the lives and property of its citizens.

16. That a railroad to the Pacific Ocean is imperatively demanded by the interests of the whole country; that the Federal Government ought to render immediate and efficient aid in its construction; and that as preliminary thereto, a daily overland mail should be promptly established.

17. Finally, having thus set forth our distinctive principles and views, we invite the co-operation of all citizens, however differing on other questions, who substantially agree with us in their affirmation and support.

The reading of the sections had been interrupted by tremendous bursts of applause, the most enthusiastic and long continued being given to the tariff and homestead clauses.

During the two days the convention had been in session there was great excitement in the hotels and throughout the city in regard to the nomination for President.

Would Seward win the prize, or would the opposition be able to unite upon one of the opposing candidates, notably Lincoln, who seemed to be the strongest, and nominate him? Combinations of different kinds were attempted, but failed, and down to the third and last day of the convention it did not seem possible for the opposition to unite upon any one. Horace Greeley, at midnight of the second day, telegraphed the *TRIBUNE* to that effect, and as his belief that Seward would be nominated. The Seward delegates marched to the Wigwam on the third day, led by brass bands and with banners flying. They were very confident and therefore the more disappointed when the final result became known. The Wigwam was packed with people and thousands were outside awaiting the outcome. After the beginning of the session on Friday (the third day) prayer was offered by Rev. M. Green. The names of the candidates were presented without debate—no laudatory speeches in behalf of candidates, as in later days.

The candidates were nominated by the chairmen of the different delegations.

Mr. Evarts of New York nominated William H. Seward.

Mr. Judd of Illinois nominated Abraham Lincoln.

Mr. Dudley of New Jersey nominated William L. Dayton.

Mr. Reeder of Pennsylvania nominated Simon Cameron.

Mr. Cartter of Ohio nominated Salmon P. Chase.

Mr. Blair of Missouri nominated Edward Bates.

Mr. Corwin of Ohio, for a portion of the Ohio delegation, nominated John McLean.

Mr. Lincoln's nomination was seconded by Caleb B. Smith of Indiana (afterward secretary of the interior under President Lincoln), and by Columbus Delano of Ohio in behalf of some of that delegation, and by William M. Stone of Iowa for a portion of that delegation. Mr. Seward's nomination was seconded by Austin Blair of Michigan, Carl Schurz of Wisconsin, John W. North of Minnesota and William A. Phillips of Kansas.

The balloting then began and resulted as follows:

#### FIRST BALLOT.

Whole number of votes .....	465
Necessary to a choice .....	233
Seward .....	173½
Lincoln .....	102
Bates .....	48
Cameron .....	50½
McLean .....	12
Chase .....	49
Dayton .....	14
Scattering .....	16
	<hr/>
	465

Connecticut's vote was as follows:

Lincoln .....	2
Bates .....	7
Chase .....	2
Benjamin F. Wade .....	1
	<hr/>
	12

The two delegates who voted for Lincoln were my father and his colleague, Mr. Noble.

The two votes for Chase were supposed to be those of Messrs. Welles and Cleveland, former old-line Demo-

crats, as was Chase, and they evidently voted the same way on the two ballots following.

Those for Bates represented, in part, the "American" element in the party, which party later was practically merged in the Republican party.

The second ballot was then taken, during which Mr. Cameron's name was withdrawn and 48 of the 56 votes of Pennsylvania given to Lincoln, amid intense excitement, and resulted as follows:

Whole number of votes .....	465
Necessary to a choice .....	233
Seward .....	184½
Lincoln .....	181
Chase .....	42½
Bates .....	35
Dayton .....	10
McLean .....	8
Cameron .....	2
Cassius M. Clay .....	2

Lincoln had 4 votes from Connecticut, gaining 2; Bates had 4, Chase 2, Clay 2.

On this ballot Lincoln had gained 79 votes and Seward only 11. The vote for Lincoln was received with tremendous applause.

There was intense excitement during the third ballot. Most of the delegates and many spectators had tally sheets, in order to keep track of the balloting as it progressed. When the roll of states had been called and every state had voted, the ballot stood—Seward 180, Lincoln 231½, Chase 24½, Bates 22, Dayton 1, McLean 5, Clay 1.

Lincoln was within 1½ votes of a majority and the nomination. The greatest excitement and confusion pre-

vailed. When quiet to some extent was restored, Mr. Cartter, the chairman of the Ohio delegation, arose and said: "I arise, Mr. Chairman, to announce the change of four (4) votes from Mr. Chase to Abraham Lincoln." "This announcement giving Lincoln a majority was greeted by the audience with the most enthusiastic and thundering applause. The entire crowd rose to their feet, applauding rapturously, the ladies waving their handkerchiefs, the men waving and throwing up their hats by thousands, cheering again and again. The applause was renewed and repeated for many minutes." When partial order had been restored, many gentlemen were striving to get the floor. Many states changed their votes to Lincoln, so that when the result of the ballot was announced Lincoln had 364 votes out of a total of 466, with 234 as necessary to a choice, and Abraham Lincoln was declared by the president as the choice of the convention as its candidate for President of the United States. The cheering broke out anew, and amid the booming of cannon, was taken up by the thousands outside of the Wigwam who had been notified of the result of the balloting by men at the skylight of the roof above the delegates, who took bulletins to the front of the building.

During all the excitement among the delegates, those from New York sat quietly in their seats, disappointed men. There were cries "New York," "New York" from the delegates and spectators, but they continued to sit in silence. Finally Mr. Evarts arose and standing on a chair made a short address, concluding with a motion to make the nomination of Abraham Lincoln unanimous. I well remember these words in his speech: "We came

from a great state with, as we thought, the name of a great statesman."

John A. Andrew of Massachusetts, who the following November was elected governor and became the famous "War Governor," followed Mr. Evarts. He was a short legged man, inclined to be portly, and was asked to mount a table, which he did. His speech was eloquent and earnest and aroused much enthusiasm. He seconded on behalf of Massachusetts Mr. Evart's motion and was followed by Carl Schurz of Wisconsin, who also seconded the motion. Others followed and the motion prevailed unanimously. The convention then adjourned until 5 P. M. During the afternoon a cannon was fired from the top of the old Tremont House, then the leading hotel in Chicago.

At the afternoon session names were presented as candidates for Vice-President. Among them were Hannibal Hamlin of Maine, Cassius M. Clay of Kentucky and John Hickman of Pennsylvania.

On the first ballot Hamlin received 194, Clay 101½, Hickman 58, Banks 38½, Reeder 51, and scattering 18.

On the second ballot Hamlin received 357 and was nominated.

The president of the convention and the chairmen of the respective delegations were appointed a committee to notify the nominees of the convention of their nomination. Gideon Welles was the member from Connecticut.

The roll of states was then called and a member of the national committee named for each state. Gideon Welles was selected for Connecticut.

The committee met later and chose Edwin D. Morgan of New York for chairman.



And so with the ticket, Lincoln and Hamlin, one of the most memorable conventions in the political history of this country came to a close.

Abraham Lincoln as President of the United States during the Civil War became so well known, not only in this country, but also throughout the civilized world, that no sketch of his life, however brief, seems necessary here.

#### HANNIBAL HAMLIN.

Hannibal Hamlin was born in Maine, August 27, 1809. He was prepared for a collegiate education, but was compelled, by the death of his father, to take charge of the home farm until he was of age.

He learned printing, studied law and was admitted to the bar in 1833. He was a Democratic member of the Legislature from 1836 till 1840, and again in 1847, and was speaker of the lower branch in 1837-'9 and 1840.

In 1840 he received the Democratic nomination for member of Congress, and during the exciting Harrison campaign held joint discussions with his competitor, being the first to introduce that practice into Maine. In 1842 he was elected to Congress, and re-elected in 1844. He was chosen to the United States Senate for four years in 1848, to fill a vacancy, and was re-elected in 1851, but resigned in 1857 to be inaugurated governor, having been elected to that office as a Republican.

Less than a month afterward, on February 20, he resigned the governorship, as he had again been chosen United States Senator for the full term of six years.

Senator Hamlin, although originally a Democrat, was an anti-slavery man, and so strong were his convictions that they finally led to his separation from that party.

On the day succeeding the convention the committee appointed to inform Mr. Lincoln of his nomination arrived in Springfield, Ill.

They waited upon him at his residence and Mr. Ashmun, president of the convention, in a short address notified him of his nomination. Mr. Lincoln, in his reply, said:

*Mr. Chairman and Gentlemen of the Committee:*

I tender to you, and through you to the Republican National Convention, and all the people represented in it, my profoundest thanks for the high honor done me, which you now formally announce. Deeply, and even painfully sensible of the great responsibility which is inseparable from this high honor—a responsibility which I could almost wish had fallen upon some one of the far more eminent men and experienced statesmen whose distinguished names were before the convention, I shall, by your leave, consider more fully the resolutions of the convention, denominated the platform, and, without any unnecessary or unreasonable delay, respond to you, Mr. Chairman, in writing, not doubting that the platform will be found satisfactory, and the nomination gratefully accepted. And now I will no longer defer the pleasure of taking you, and each of you by the hand.

Mr. Lincoln's formal reply to the official announcement of his nomination was as follows:

SPRINGFIELD, ILL., May 23, 1860.

*Sir:*

I accept the nomination tendered me by the convention over which you presided, of which I am formally apprised in a letter of yourself and others acting as a committee of the convention for that purpose.\* The declaration of principles and sentiments which accompanies your letter meets my approval, and it shall be my care not to violate it, or disregard it in any part. Imploring the assistance of Divine Providence, and with due regard to the views and feelings of all who were represented in the convention, to the rights of all the states and the territories and people of the nation, to the

inviolability of the Constitution, and the perpetual union, harmony and prosperity of all, I am most happy to co-operate for the practical success of the principles declared by the convention.

Your obliged friend and fellow-citizen,

ABRAHAM LINCOLN.

HON. GEORGE ASHMUN,

*President of the Republican Convention.*

Mr. Hamlin was later notified of his nomination as the candidate for Vice-President, and accepted the nomination.

**THE THIRD  
REPUBLICAN NATIONAL  
CONVENTION**



ABRAHAM LINCOLN

REPUBLICAN  
CANDIDATES

1864



ANDREW JOHNSON

THE THIRD REPUBLICAN NATIONAL CONVENTION  
HELD AT BALTIMORE, MD., JUNE 7 and 8, 1864

*For President*—ABRAHAM LINCOLN, of Illinois

*For Vice-President*—ANDREW JOHNSON, of Tennessee

The third Republican National Convention was held at Baltimore in June, 1864. The papers upon the first and second conventions, held at Philadelphia and Chicago, respectively, have already appeared in THE COURANT. The contest in the Presidential campaign of 1860 was an exciting one. The Democratic party had split into two factions, both nominating candidates, and the remnant of the American party had also placed a ticket in the field. The Northern wing of the Democratic party nominated Stephen A. Douglas of Illinois for President, and the Southern wing John C. Breckenridge of Kentucky—while the American party nominated John Bell of Tennessee for President and Edward Everett of Massachusetts for Vice-President.

### The election resulted as follows:

Of the electoral vote,

Abraham Lincoln received .....	180
John C. Breckenridge .....	72
John Bell .....	39
Stephen A. Douglas .....	12

Of the popular vote,

Lincoln received .....	1,866,352
Breckenridge .....	845,763
Bell .....	589,581
Douglas .....	1,375,157

Connecticut gave

Lincoln .....	43,486
Douglas .....	17,364
Breckenridge .....	16,558
Bell .....	3,337

During the winter following Lincoln's election came threats of the secession of many of the Southern states, and during that time, and also soon after Lincoln's inauguration, March 4, 1861, several of the states held conventions and passed ordinances of secession.

The South was preparing for war. The vessels of the navy were sent by Secretary of the Navy Toucey to distant parts of the world. The muskets in the arsenals of the North were sent South by order of Secretary of War Floyd.

President Buchanan was weak, vacillating and apparently powerless. The *Star of the West*, a vessel sent to carry provisions to the forts at the South, was fired upon by the rebels.

President Lincoln's conciliatory inaugural address fell upon deaf ears and was unheeded, and finally on April 12 Fort Sumter was fired upon; was obliged to surrender, and the war came.

It is not necessary to dwell upon that war here. It is a part of history which will be read and studied by generations yet unborn.

It lasted four long years, and had its bright as well as dark days. The North was thrilled by every Union victory—those at Fort Donelson and Antietam, the capture of New Orleans, the long siege and capture of Vicksburg by General Grant, the victory at Gettysburg and the many others.

Many of the generals in command of the Union army, in different parts of the South, had succeeded, while others had failed. Among the former the most prominent were Grant, Sherman, Sheridan, Thomas, Hancock, McPherson and Howard.

When the Republican National Convention met the war was still in progress, and there was yet an uncertainty as to when it would end. The North had reason to feel encouraged at the prospect, and there was a universal demand in the Republican press, and throughout the Republican party that Abraham Lincoln be again nominated for President, and this sentiment found its expression and consummation in the convention by his unanimous renomination.

The convention was composed of many of the most prominent Republicans from every Northern state. Its sessions lasted only two days. Its work was done amid the greatest enthusiasm. The different speeches were loudly applauded. The platform was received with the

greatest satisfaction and heartily cheered. The presentation of Mr. Lincoln's name as a candidate, aroused the delegates to the highest pitch of enthusiasm.

Connecticut had chosen as delegates to the convention the following:

#### AT LARGE.

Joseph R. Hawley, Hartford; Augustus Brandegee, New London; Cornelius S. Bushnell, New Haven; William T. Minor, Stamford.

#### DISTRICT.

First—H. A. Grant, Enfield; Jasper H. Bolton, Stafford.

Second—Orville H. Platt, Meriden; Samuel L. Warner, Middletown.

Third—Gilbert W. Phillips, Putnam; James Lloyd Green, Norwich.

Fourth—Oliver H. Perry, Southport; William W. Welch, Norfolk.

General Hawley, then in the army, was represented by Calvin Day of Hartford.

Among those in the convention of national reputation, at the time or later, were the following:

Lot M. Morrill, governor of Maine in 1857, later United States senator and secretary of the treasury under President Grant.

Solomon Foote, member of congress and United States senator from Vermont.

John A. Andrew, Alexander H. Bullock and William Claflin, all governors of Massachusetts, the first the "war governor." Governor Claflin was later a member of congress and chairman of the national committee.

Henry J. Raymond, editor of the NEW YORK TIMES; had been speaker of the assembly and lieutenant governor of New York, and later a member of congress.



Daniel S. Dickinson, member of congress, attorney-general of New York, and United States senator.

George William Curtis, in 1850 became a member of the NEW YORK TRIBUNE editorial staff; in 1857 editor of HARPER'S WEEKLY and MONTHLY, a brilliant lecturer and political speaker.

John A. King, governor of New York in 1856-58.

Lyman Tremain, attorney-general of New York and member of congress.

Preston King, member of congress and United States senator.

Ellis H. Roberts, editor and proprietor of the UTICA HERALD, member of congress, and later treasurer of the United States.

William A. Newell and Marcus L. Ward, both governors of New Jersey, both members of congress, and the latter, between 1864-68, chairman of the national committee.

Simon Cameron of Pennsylvania, United States senator and secretary of war in Lincoln's cabinet, which position he resigned and became minister to Russia.

Thaddeus Stevens of Pennsylvania, member of congress many terms, and prominent during the war and reconstruction times.

Galusha A. Grow of Pennsylvania, served several terms in congress, became speaker, and was the author of the Homestead bill.

John A. J. Creswell of Maryland, member of congress, United States senator and postmaster-general in President Grant's cabinet.

David Tod, governor of Ohio, 1861-63.

Columbus Delano of Ohio, member of congress and secretary of the interior in 1870-'75 in President Hayes's cabinet.

George W. McCreary, member of congress from Iowa several terms and secretary of war in President Hayes's cabinet.

James H. Lane, United States senator from Kansas.

Austin Blair, war governor of Michigan and member of congress.

O. D. Conger, member of congress and United States senator from Michigan.

Edward Saloman, born in Germany, governor of Wisconsin in 1862-63, and a noted public speaker.

Alexander W. Randall, also governor of Wisconsin, and postmaster-general in 1866-69.

Angus Cameron, United States senator from Wisconsin.

John F. Potter, member of congress many terms from the same state.

C. D. Drake of Missouri, member of congress and United States senator.

Henry T. Blow of Missouri, member of congress and minister to Brazil.

James Speed of Kentucky, attorney-general in President Lincoln's cabinet.

Orville H. Platt, twenty-six years a United States senator from Connecticut.

Augustus Brandegee, Samuel L. Warner and William W. Welch, members of congress.

William T. Minor, governor in 1855-56.

Oliver H. Perry, secretary of state, 1854-55.

Cornelius S. Bushnell, who furnished Ericsson with the money to build the ironclad Monitor which defeated the Merrimac in Hampton Roads during the war.

The Democratic National Convention met in Chicago in August, and after adopting a "peace platform," declaring the "war a failure" and demanding "immediate cessation of hostilities," nominated General George B. McClellan for President.

It was not long after this event (the following month) that Sheridan routed General Early at Winchester and sent him "whirling up the Shenandoah Valley." Grant was stubbornly fighting his way to Richmond and Sherman had captured Atlanta and had begun his famous "march to the sea." The backbone of the rebellion was almost broken when election day came, and Abraham Lincoln was again triumphantly elected President of the United States.

The electoral vote stood:

Lincoln .....	212
McClellan .....	21

And the popular vote:

Lincoln .....	2,216,067
McClellan .....	1,808,725

Connecticut gave:

Lincoln .....	44,693
McClellan .....	42,288

Connecticut, a Republican state from the time of the organization of that party (though at times close), never faltered till after the close of the war.

William A. Buckingham, the "war governor," of honored memory, was first elected governor in 1858 and

held that position for eight successive years, being elected each year until, and including 1865, when he was succeeded in 1866 by General Hawley.

The closest election was in April, 1860, when Governor Buckingham received only 541 majority, the vote standing:

William A. Buckingham .....	44,458
Thomas H. Seymour .....	43,917

That election was in the spring of a Presidential year and the canvass was very exciting and fought with great vigor by both parties. The Democrats again in 1863 (during the war) pitted Thomas H. Seymour, their most popular man, against Governor Buckingham, but did not succeed so well as in 1860, the vote standing:

Buckingham .....	41,030
Seymour .....	38,395

A majority of 2,635 for Buckingham.

In April, 1865, Buckingham was elected by over 10,000 majority. This election was held the day after the capture of Richmond. The NEW YORK WORLD, then the leading Democratic paper of the country, in an editorial the following day on the result of the election in Connecticut, said, in substance, in explaining the great Republican victory, that it could not be expected that the Democrats would come out and vote, as they had lost all heart in the result after the receipt of such bad news!

Abraham Lincoln, twice elected President of the United States, was destined to have placed upon his shoulders greater duties and responsibilities than any President who had preceded him. How well he bore them the world knows, and his name in history will shine

among the brightest there recorded. It was his good fortune to live to see the war end, but alas; soon after, his fate to wear a martyr's crown; his untimely death mourned and lamented by the nation as well as by the entire world.

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The convention assembled in the Front Street Theatre on Tuesday, June 7, at 12 o'clock noon, and was called to order by Hon. Edwin D. Morgan of New York, chairman of the national committee.

"A splendid band, from Fort McHenry, animated the crowded theatre with national airs, and the assemblage was graced by the presence of many ladies, who were accommodated in one of the tiers of boxes. Major-General Lew Wallace, in command of the department, and staff, the Hon. John Lee Chapman, mayor of the city, officers of the army and navy, and many other distinguished invited guests were spectators of the proceedings."

Governor Morgan made a brief address, and at its close said: "In behalf of the national committee, I now propose for temporary president of this convention, Robert J. Breckenridge of Kentucky and appoint Governor Randall of Wisconsin and Governor King of New York as a committee to conduct the president pro tem. to the chair."

Robert J. Breckenridge, a clergyman, was born in Cabell's Dale, Ky., March 8, 1800. He studied at Princeton, Yale and Union colleges successively, graduating at Union in 1819, read law, was admitted to the bar of his native state in 1823, and practiced eight years. For four successive years he was a member of the Legislature. In 1829 he made a profession of religion

and determined to be a preacher. As a politician he had advocated the emancipation of the slaves, and when the public sentiment of his state turned in favor of slavery, he was the more inclined to abandon the political career. After studying theology privately, he was licensed to preach in 1832, and soon afterward became pastor of the Second Presbyterian Church of Baltimore, in which place he remained thirteen years. In 1845 he was elected president of Jefferson College, Pennsylvania, and at the same time took charge of a Presbyterian church in a neighboring village. After two years in the presidency of the college, he removed to Lexington, Ky., where he became pastor of the First Presbyterian Church, and also superintendent of public instruction for the state. He was the principal author of the public school system of the state. In 1853 he was elected professor of didactic and polemic theology in the new theological seminary at Danville, which chair he held until his death, in 1871. He was the author of many religious works. He also edited at Danville, Ky., while professor there, the *DANVILLE REVIEW*, in which he not only defended his theological views, but also gave utterance to his patriotic sentiments during the Civil War. Previous to the war he had been inclined to conservatism, though disposed to deprecate slavery; but when the war came he was from the first intensely loyal, though one of his sons, and his nephew, John C. Breckenridge, went over to the Confederacy.

Dr. Breckenridge, having taken the chair, amid enthusiastic greetings, three cheers were given for the "Old War Horse of Kentucky." He made an able and eloquent speech which was frequently interrupted with prolonged applause.

Prayer was offered by Rev. McKendree Reiley of Baltimore.

A lengthy discussion ensued upon the question of state representation in the convention and the appointment of

committees participated in by Simon Cameron of Pennsylvania, Lot M. Morrill of Maine, James H. Lane of Kansas, Augustus Brandegee of Connecticut, Henry J. Raymond of New York, Thaddeus Stevens of Pennsylvania, Horace Maynard of Tennessee, L. H. Chandler of Virginia, and others.

The usual committees, of one member from each state, were appointed. Connecticut named the following:

On Credentials—Augustus Brandegee.

On Organization—Oliver H. Perry.

On Resolutions—William T. Minor.

On Order of Business—Calvin Day.

The convention then took a recess until 7:30 o'clock P. M.

The convention reassembled in the evening at the appointed hour.

A. K. McClure, chairman, presented the report of the committee on permanent organization, naming for president of the convention, William Dennison of Ohio, and a vice-president and secretary from each state.

The vice-president from Connecticut was Henry A. Grant and the secretary Samuel L. Warner. Henry S. Lane of Indiana, and Galusha A. Grow of Pennsylvania, were appointed a committee to conduct the president to the chair.

William Dennison, war governor of Ohio, was born in Cincinnati, Ohio, November 23, 1815. His father was a prosperous business man, and had him prepared for college in the best schools of Cincinnati. He was graduated at Miami in 1835, studied law in Cincinnati, under Nathaniel Pendleton and Stephen Fales, and practiced in Columbus until 1848, in which year he was chosen to the state Legislature. About this time Mr. Dennison became interested in banking and in

railroad affairs, and was president of the Exchange Bank and President of the Columbus & Xenia Railroad Company. In 1856 he was a delegate to the first National Convention of the Republican party. He was chosen governor of Ohio in 1860 by the Republicans and delivered his first message to the General Assembly in 1861. At his suggestion the Legislature voted \$3,000,000 to protect the state "from invasion and insurrection," and conferred power upon the executive to raise troops. Governor Dennison was an ardent admirer of President Lincoln. In response to his call for 11,000 troops, he offered 30,000, sending agents to Washington to urge their acceptance. He took possession of the telegraph lines and railroads in the name of the state, and seized money in transit from Washington to Ohio, which he gave to the quartermaster-general to clothe and equip soldiers. He was appointed by President Lincoln postmaster-general in 1864, to succeed Montgomery Blair.

Mr. Dennison made a short address. The committee on credentials not being ready to report, it was voted unanimously that the Rev. W. G. Brownlow—"Parson Brownlow" of Tennessee, be invited to address the convention. As Mr. Brownlow advanced to the platform the convention rose to their feet and gave three cheers for "Parson Brownlow." His address aroused great enthusiasm. The convention then adjourned until the following morning at 10 o'clock.

The convention reassembled on Wednesday (the second day) at 10 o'clock A. M.

Prayer was offered by Rev. M. P. Gaddis, one of the delegates from Ohio.

The president requested that "as the roll of states is called the chairmen of the several delegations rise in their places and announce their names." William T. Minor responded for Connecticut.



The committee on rules and order of business reported through Calvin Day of Connecticut, chairman. The report was adopted.

Preston King of New York, chairman of the committee on credentials, presented the report of the committee.

There had been a contest in Missouri and a long discussion followed the presentation of the committee's report. It was participated in by Preston King, Augustus Brandegee, R. J. Breckenridge, George William Curtis, Thaddeus Stevens and others.

There was also a lengthy discussion upon the right to vote of delegates to be admitted to seats in the convention from Tennessee, Virginia, Louisiana, Florida and Arkansas.

The question was finally decided favorably in the cases of Tennessee, Arkansas and Louisiana, and unfavorably in the others.

Henry J. Raymond, chairman, presented the report of the committee on resolutions and platform.

The resolutions were loudly applauded throughout their reading and are given in full below :

#### RESOLUTIONS.

1. *Resolved*, That it is the highest duty of every American citizen to maintain against all their enemies the integrity of the Union and the paramount authority of the Constitution and laws of the United States; and that, laying aside all differences of political opinion, we pledge ourselves, as Union men, animated by a common sentiment and aiming at a common object, to do everything in our power to aid the government in quelling by force of arms the rebellion now raging against its authority, and in bringing to the punishment due to their crimes the rebels and traitors arrayed against it.

2. *Resolved*, That we approve the determination of the government of the United States not to compromise with rebels, or to offer them any terms of peace, except such as may be based upon an unconditional surrender of their hostility and a return to their just allegiance to the Constitution and laws of the United States, and that we call upon the government to maintain this position, and to prosecute the war with the utmost possible vigor to the complete suppression of the rebellion, in full reliance upon the self-sacrificing patriotism, the heroic valor and the undying devotion of the American people to their country and its free institutions.

3. *Resolved*, That as slavery was the cause, and now constitutes the strength of this rebellion, and as it must be, always and everywhere, hostile to the principles or republican government, justice and the national safety demand its utter and complete extirpation from the soil of the republic; and that while we uphold and maintain the acts and proclamations by which the government, in its own defense, has aimed a deathblow at this gigantic evil, we are in favor, furthermore, of such an amendment to the Constitution, to be made by the people in conformity with its provisions, as shall terminate and forever prohibit the existence of slavery within the limits or the jurisdiction of the United States.

4. *Resolved*, That the thanks of the American people are due to the soldiers and sailors of the army and navy who have periled their lives in defense of their country, and in vindication of the honor of its flag; that the nation owes to them some permanent recognition of their patriotism and their valor, and ample and permanent provision for those of their survivors who have received disabling and honorable wounds in the service of the country; and that the memories of those who have fallen in its defense shall be held in grateful and everlasting remembrance.

5. *Resolved*, That we approve and applaud the practical wisdom, the unselfish patriotism and unswerving fidelity to the Constitution and the principles of American liberty, with

which Abraham Lincoln has discharged, under circumstances of unparalleled difficulty, the great duties and responsibilities of the Presidential office; that we approve and endorse, as demanded by the emergency and essential to the preservation of the nation and as within the provisions of the Constitution, the measures and acts which he has adopted to defend the nation against its open and secret foes; that we approve especially, the Proclamation of Emancipation and the employment as Union soldiers of men heretofore held in slavery; and we have full confidence in his determination to carry these and all other constitutional measures essential to the salvation of the country into full and complete effect.

6. *Resolved*, That we deem it essential to the general welfare that harmony should prevail in the national councils, and we regard as worthy of public confidence and official trust those only who cordially endorse the principles proclaimed in these resolutions, and which should characterize the administration of the government.

7. *Resolved*, That the government owes to all men employed in its armies, without regard to distinction of color, the full protection of the laws of war—and that any violation of these laws, or of the usages of civilized nations in time of war, by the rebels now in arms, should be made the subject of prompt and full redress.

8. *Resolved*, That the national faith, pledged for the redemption of the public debt, must be kept inviolate, and that for this purpose we recommend economy and rigid responsibility in the public expenditures, and a vigorous and just system of taxation; and that it is the duty of every loyal state to sustain the credit and promote the use of the national currency.

9. *Resolved*, That foreign immigration, which in the past has added so much to the wealth, development of resources and increase of power to this nation, the asylum of the oppressed of all nations, should be fostered and encouraged by a liberal and just policy.

10. *Resolved*, That we are in favor of the speedy construction of the railroad to the Pacific coast.

11. *Resolved*, That we approve the position taken by the government that the people of the United States can never regard with indifference the attempt of any European power to overthrow by force or to supplant by fraud the institutions of any republican government on the Western Continent—and that they will view with extreme jealousy, as menacing to the peace and independence of their own country, the efforts of any such power to obtain new footholds for monarchical governments, sustained by foreign military force, in near proximity of the United States.

C. S. Bushnell of Connecticut said: "Those resolutions are their own argument. I move their adoption by acclamation." The motion was agreed to, amid enthusiastic applause.

Columbus Delano of Ohio then moved that the convention now proceed to the nomination of candidates for President and Vice-President. Simon Cameron moved, as a substitute for Mr. Delano's motion, "that Abraham Lincoln of Illinois be declared the choice of the Union party for President and Hannibal Hamlin of Maine be the candidate for Vice-President of the same party."

There was lengthy discussion upon the manner in which the candidates should be nominated, which was participated in by many of the leading delegates in the convention, and which finally resulted in a call of the roll of states and a ballot. When Connecticut was called the response came, "Connecticut gives her twelve votes to that pure and patriotic statesman, Abraham Lincoln of Illinois."

The ballot resulted as follows:

Abraham Lincoln .....	484
Ulysses S. Grant .....	22

Missouri cast her 22 votes for Grant under instructions from the convention of that state which J. F. Hume, chairman of the delegation, said they could not disregard, as deeply as they regretted differing with the convention. It was known that President Lincoln's action in relation to some matters in Missouri had caused some irritation to the Republicans of that state, which was supposed to be the real cause for the action of their state convention. On the announcement of the result of the ballot for President, Mr. Hume of Missouri arose and said: "I now move that the nomination of Abraham Lincoln be made unanimous, and I am authorized to change the vote of Missouri to Abraham Lincoln." The delegates and the audience simultaneously rose to their feet and greeted the announcement with vociferous applause. The band struck up "Hail, Columbia" and "Yankee Doodle," which were rapturously received. The president of the convention then announced, "the unanimous nomination of Abraham Lincoln for the next Presidency, for the term beginning on the 4th of March next."

Leonard Swett of Illinois, in behalf of the delegation from Illinois, returned their thanks for the honor conferred upon their state in the nomination of Abraham Lincoln.

William A. Dart of New York objected to the gentleman locating Mr. Lincoln in Illinois, saying, "He belongs to the Union." The president said, "The chair thinks the point well taken." To which Mr. Swett replied, "I confess that the point is well taken."

The president announced the receipt of a dispatch addressed to him from Edwin M. Stanton, secretary of

war, announcing a victory of General Hunter beyond Staunton, Va.

The reading of the dispatch was followed by great cheering.

T. H. Pearne of Oregon announced the receipt of a dispatch from that state which stated that Oregon had, at the state election two days before, "gone largely for the Union by an increased majority. It is the first gun of the campaign." There was loud applause.

The president announced that the next business in order was the nomination of a candidate for Vice-President.

Indiana presented the name of Andrew Johnson of Tennessee.

The nomination was seconded by Iowa and Tennessee, Horace Maynard speaking for the latter state.

Simon Cameron presented the name of Hannibal Hamlin of Maine, then Vice-President.

Lyman Tremain, for a portion of the New York delegation, nominated Daniel S. Dickinson, a war Democrat, of New York.

The roll of states was called and the ballot resulted as follows:

Andrew Johnson .....	200
Hannibal Hamlin .....	150
Daniel S. Dickinson .....	108
Benjamin F. Butler .....	28
Lovell H. Rousseau .....	21
Schuyler Colfax .....	6
Joseph Holt .....	2
Ambrose E. Burnside .....	2

David Tod .....	1
Preston King .....	1
<hr/>	
Total vote cast .....	519
Necessary to a choice .....	260

While the secretaries were computing the vote, and before any announcement of the result was made, state after state changed its votes from other candidates to Andrew Johnson, and after all the corrections were made the result of the ballot was announced as follows:

Andrew Johnson .....	494
Daniel S. Dickinson .....	17
Hannibal Hamlin .....	9
David Tod .....	1

Connecticut voted 12 for Johnson, and made no change in its vote. The president announced that "Andrew Johnson, having received a majority of all the votes, is declared duly nominated as a candidate for the Vice-Presidency." There was "tremendous applause" at the announcement.

Lyman Tremain moved that the nomination of Mr. Johnson be made unanimous. The motion was agreed to unanimously, amid great enthusiasm.

The list of states was then called and the names of members of the national committee announced.

Connecticut named Nehemiah D. Sperry.

The committee later chose Marcus L. Ward of New Jersey, chairman.

C. S. Bushnell moved that the president of the convention be authorized to select one from each state as a committee to inform President Lincoln and Andrew Johnson of their nomination.

George William Curtis moved to amend the motion by providing that the roll of the convention be now called, and that each state, by the chairman of its delegation, name a member of that committee. The amendment was adopted, and the motion was agreed to.

James H. Lane said: "Before the roll is called, I move that the president of the convention shall be chairman of that committee, and I will put the motion myself."

The motion was agreed to unanimously. The roll was then called and the names of the committee announced. Connecticut named C. S. Bushnell.

A vote of thanks to the officers of the convention "for their able and continued service" was then passed.

An invitation was received to visit Patterson Park Hospital, where over one thousand wounded soldiers, representing all the states of the Union, "will be gratified to meet their delegates." George William Curtis moved that the thanks of the convention be returned to the officers who have sent the invitation, and that the delegates will, if possible, avail themselves of it. The motion was agreed to. A vote of thanks was passed to the city councils of Baltimore for having prepared and provided the room for the use of the convention.

After a brief address of congratulation by the president of the convention, the convention adjourned sine die.

Andrew Johnson was born in Raleigh, N. C., December 29, 1808. His parents were very poor and when he was four years old his father died. At the age of ten he was apprenticed to a tailor. He was taught the alphabet by fellow-workmen, borrowed the book and learned to read. He later became a journeyman tailor and married in Greenville, Tenn.,



where he had moved, a woman of refinement who taught him to write, and read to him while he was at work during the day. It was not until he had been in Congress that he learned to write with ease.

He became interested in politics, was elected alderman in Greenville, advanced to the mayoralty, and became a member of the Legislature. In 1841 he was elected to state senate. He had supported Van Buren for the presidency in 1840, was elected to Congress in 1843, and regularly re-elected until 1853. In 1857 he was elected to the United States Senate, where he became prominent in debate and frequently clashed with Southern supporters of President Buchanan's administration. His pronounced Unionism estranged him from the slave-holders on the one side, while his acceptance of slavery as an institution, guaranteed by the Constitution, caused him to hold aloof from the Republicans on the other.

He was strongly opposed to secession, and in the Senate raised his voice against it in many able but fiery speeches. He retained his seat in the Senate until appointed by President Lincoln military governor of Tennessee, March 4, 1862. During the term of his service in that position Governor Johnson exercised absolute and autocratic powers, but with singular moderation and discretion, and his course strengthened the Union cause in Tennessee.

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#### NOTIFICATION OF PRESIDENT LINCOLN.

On Thursday, June 9, the committee appointed to inform Mr. Lincoln of his nomination waited upon him at the White House. Governor Dennison, the president of the convention and chairman of the committee, in a brief address, notified him of his nomination. The President said in response:

*Mr. Chairman and Gentlemen of the Committee:*

I will neither conceal my gratification, nor restrain the expression of gratitude, that the Union people, through their convention, in the continued effort to save and advance the nation, have deemed me not unworthy to remain in my present position. I know no reason to doubt that I shall accept the nomination tendered; and yet, perhaps, I should not declare definitely before reading and considering what is called the platform. I will say now, however, that I approve the declaration in favor of so amending the Constitution as to prohibit slavery throughout the nation. When the people in revolt, with the hundred days' explicit notice that they could within those days resume their allegiance without the overthrow of their institutions, and that they could *not* resume it afterward, elected to stand out, such an amendment of the Constitution as is now proposed became a fitting and necessary conclusion to the final success of the Union cause.

Such alone can meet and cover all cavils. I now perceive its importance and embrace it. In the joint name of Liberty and Union let us labor to give it legal form and practical effect.

The written address of the committee of the convention announcing his nomination was sent to Mr. Lincoln a few days afterwards and he replied, formally accepting the nomination.



**THE FOURTH  
REPUBLICAN NATIONAL  
CONVENTION**



ULYSSES S. GRANT

REPUBLICAN  
CANDIDATES

1868



SCHUYLER COLFAX

THE FOURTH REPUBLICAN NATIONAL CONVENTION  
HELD AT CHICAGO, ILL., MAY 20 and 21, 1868

*For President*—ULYSSES S. GRANT, of Illinois

*For Vice-President*—SCHUYLER COLFAX, of Indiana

The Republican party held its fourth National Convention in Chicago in May, 1868.

Its first convention was held in Philadelphia in June, 1856, its second in Chicago in May, 1860, of which I have already written, and its third in Baltimore in June, 1864. Abraham Lincoln, its nominee in 1860, became President on March 4, 1861. At the time of his inauguration the country was on the verge of a civil war and the following appeal made by him to the South, in his inaugural address, passed unheeded:

In your hands, my dissatisfied fellow countrymen, and not in mine, is the momentous issue of civil war. The government will not assail you. You can have no conflict without being yourselves the aggressors. You have no oath registered in heaven to destroy the government, while I shall have the most solemn one to "preserve, protect and defend" it. I am

loath to close. We are not enemies, but friends. We must not be enemies. Though passion may have strained, it must not break our bonds of affection. The mystic cord of memory, stretching from every battlefield and patriot grave to every living heart and hearthstone all over this broad land, will yet swell the chorus of the Union, when again touched, as surely it will be, by the better angels of our nature.

On the 12th of April, 1861, Fort Sumter was fired upon, and the war came. That war is a part of history and I do not intend to dwell upon it here, and shall refer to it only incidentally.

It still raged in 1864 when the third National Convention of the Republican party met in Baltimore on June 7, and unanimously renominated Abraham Lincoln for President and chose Andrew Johnson of Tennessee for Vice-President, over Hannibal Hamlin of Maine—then Vice-President—and Daniel S. Dickinson of New York, who was a war Democrat.

This convention I did not attend. The war ended in April, 1865, by the fall of Richmond, April 2, and the surrender of General Lee at Appomattox Court House, April 9. The assassination of President Lincoln followed on April 14, and Andrew Johnson became President.

It is unnecessary to refer here to his career as President, except to say that his previous bitterness toward those who had been in rebellion against the government changed entirely, and his course toward congress in the reconstruction of the Southern states was of such a hostile nature as to delay the pacification of the country, and his attitude toward Secretary Stanton and General Grant, then general of the army, brought about his impeachment, which failed on account of a few Republican senators voting with Democratic senators for his acquittal.

Meanwhile, General Grant retained the love and affection of the people, as the ablest and most successful general of the war. His great modesty was proverbial, and he had shown much executive ability in all matters coming before him. As 1868 approached, he was the man most talked of and written about, as the next candidate of the Republican party for President, and when the convention assembled on May 20, in Chicago, no other name was mentioned. It was, indeed, an interesting convention, and attended from the different states by their ablest men as delegates.

I attended, as a spectator, and accompanied General Hawley—one of the delegates—from New Haven to Chicago. The night we left New Haven (the legislature then meeting in May, and at New Haven) the Republican members had met in caucus to ballot for a candidate for United States senator to succeed James Dixon, whose term would expire on March 4, following. Governor Buckingham and General Hawley were the leading candidates and Orville H. Platt was also a candidate. The caucus balloted for two hours or more without a choice and then adjourned until the next evening. As I recollect the vote stood on the different ballots about as follows:

Buckingham .....	65
Hawley .....	55
Platt .....	25

General Hawley was met at the old railroad station in Chapel street late in the evening, on his way from Hartford, by many of his warm friends and supporters from throughout the state, among whom were Stephen A. Hubbard, James G. Ballason, John R. Buck and others from

Hartford. He chatted with them a few moments about the caucus, and before leaving, I remember his saying, "God bless you, no man ever had better friends." On the next night, while on the way to Chicago, a telegram for General Hawley was brought aboard the train at one of the stations, announcing the result of the balloting at New Haven that evening and Governor Buckingham's nomination. General Hawley read it and made but little comment, apparently not feeling much disappointment.

The delegates chosen from Connecticut to the Chicago convention were as follows:

#### AT LARGE.

Joseph R. Hawley, Hartford; Orville H. Platt, Meriden; Henry H. Starkweather, Norwich; Truman A. Warren, Watertown.

#### DISTRICT.

First—General William S. Pierson, Windsor; Patten Fitch, Bolton.

Second—Stephen W. Kellogg, Waterbury; Bartlett Bent, Jr., Middletown.

Third—Horace Smith, Colchester; Sabin L. Sayles, Dayville.

Fourth—William G. Coe, Winsted; A. H. Byington, Norwalk.

General Hawley had been governor in 1866-1867. Orville H. Platt was then chairman of the Republican state committee. He had been secretary of state in 1857-1858. It was ten and twelve years later before he and General Hawley were elected to the United States senate. The other delegates were more or less prominent in state politics. H. H. Starkweather was then a member of congress.

Governor Jewell attended the convention and had engaged rooms for the delegation several months before,



in the old Sherman House, and, also, large parlors on the first floor as a place for meeting. I was assigned to a cot in a large room with the delegates at large.

The convention assembled in Crosby's Opera House on Wednesday, May 20, at noon. The main floor was reserved for the delegates and alternates. The galleries were crowded with spectators, hundreds of ladies among them. The demand for tickets of admission could not be filled and hundreds were turned away.

I was fortunate enough to have a seat on the platform at all the sessions of the convention. Among those on the platform was Jesse R. Grant, the father of General Grant, who was greatly interested in the proceedings. He was a man rather large in frame, and on account of some trouble with his eyes, wore dark glasses.

The convention was called to order by Governor Marcus L. Ward of New Jersey, chairman of the national committee. Prayer was offered by Rev. Matthew Simpson, D.D. Carl Schurz of Missouri was nominated for temporary chairman and unanimously chosen. Lyman Tremain of New York and Richard W. Thompson of Indiana were appointed a committee to conduct Mr. Schurz to the chair. He was received with great enthusiasm and made an able address.

Carl Schurz was born in Liblar, near Cologne, Prussia, March 2, 1829. He entered the University of Bonn in 1846. At the beginning of the revolution of 1848, he joined Gottfried Kinkel, professor of rhetoric in the University, in the publication of a liberal newspaper, of which he was at one time the sole conductor. In the spring of 1849, in consequence of an attempt to promote an insurrection at Bonn, he fled with Kinkel to the Palatinate, entered the revolutionary army as adjutant, and took part in the defense of Rastadt.

On the surrender of that fortress he escaped to Switzerland. In 1850 he returned secretly to Germany and effected the escape of Kinkel from the fortress of Spaudan. In the spring of 1851 he was in Paris, acting as correspondent for German journals, and he afterward spent a year in teaching in London.

He came to the United States in 1852, resided three years in Philadelphia and then settled in Watertown, Wis. In the presidential canvass of 1856 he delivered speeches in German in behalf of the Republican party, and in the following year he was an unsuccessful candidate for lieutenant governor of Wisconsin. During the contest between Stephen A. Douglas and Abraham Lincoln for the office of United States Senator from Illinois in 1858, he delivered his first speech in the English language, which was widely published.

Soon afterward he removed to Milwaukee and began the practice of law.

In 1859-'60 he made a lecture tour in New England and aroused attention by a speech in Springfield, Mass., against the ideas and policy of Mr. Douglas. He was a member of the Republican National Convention of 1860, and spoke both in English and German during the canvass. President Lincoln appointed him minister to Spain, but he resigned in December, 1861, in order to enter the army. In April, 1862, he was commissioned brigadier-general of volunteers, and on June 17 he took command of a division in the corps of General Franz Sigel, with which he participated in the second battle of Bull Run. He was made major-general of volunteers March 14, 1863, and at the battle of Chancellorsville commanded a division of General Oliver O. Howard's corps. He had temporary command of this corps at Gettysburg and subsequently took part in the battle of Chattanooga. During the summer of 1865 he visited the southern states, as a special commissioner, appointed by President Johnson, for the purpose of examining their condition. In the winter of 1865-'66 he was the Washington correspondent of the New York TRIBUNE, and in the summer of 1866 he removed to Detroit, where he founded the POST.

In 1867 he became editor of the *WESTLICHE POST*, a German newspaper published in St. Louis, and in 1868 was chosen a delegate to the Republican National Convention in Chicago.

The different committees were then named. Those from Connecticut were as follows:

On Credentials—William G. Coe.

On Permanent Organization—A. H. Byington.

On Rules and Order of Business—Sabin L. Sayles.

On Resolutions—J. M. Woodward, alternate for Stephen W. Kellogg.

The convention then adjourned until 5 P. M.

The Connecticut delegation had agreed to present General Hawley's name to the committee on permanent organization as a candidate for president of the convention and use their utmost efforts to secure for him the position. This they did among the different delegations, and had worked up a strong sentiment in his favor. General Daniel E. Sickles of New York was another candidate for the place and, also, had strong support. The committee met during the recess of the convention.

Mr. Byington was the Connecticut member and a better man could not have been chosen. Genial, wide-awake and indefatigable, he was hard to beat in a contest of that kind. The Connecticut delegation and others were waiting in the parlors of the delegation at the hotel for the result. After a while Mr. Byington came rushing in, and swinging his hat, exclaimed: "Hurrah for Hawley!" and then told of the committee's proceedings. It proved to have been a close contest, for General Hawley received only two or three votes more than General Sickles. Mr. Byington was amused at the speech of one of the committee in advocating General Sickles's selec-

tion. The speaker said he thought it "would arouse great enthusiasm in the convention when General Sickles, if chosen, came forward with only one leg and on crutches!"

Soon after the afternoon session began, Hamilton Harris of New York, chairman of the committee on permanent organization, presented the report of the committee, naming General Hawley for permanent president of the convention. General Hawley's name was greeted with great applause. Ex-Governor Salomon of Wisconsin and ex-Governor Brown of Georgia were designated a committee to conduct General Hawley to the chair. He was heartily cheered. His address was received with tremendous applause and cheering, especially when he said: "For every dollar of the national debt the blood of a soldier is pledged. Every bond, in letter and spirit, must be as sacred as a soldier's grave."

General Hawley's speech in full on assuming the chair was as follows:

*Gentlemen of the Convention:*

I tender you my most grateful thanks for the high honor conferred upon me. Deeply impressed by a sense of the responsibilities of the position, I earnestly solicit your indulgence and your aid. We came together, charged with the momentous duty of selecting the chief rulers of the great nation which leads the world in the promotion of freedom and equal rights. The indications of your purpose and spirit already given, assure us that you will maintain the noble character of the Republican party. We unavoidably recall the convention of 1860, with its profound anxieties, its fresh, pure and glowing devotion to liberty, and its enthusiastic acceptance of the wager of battle tendered by slavery and secession. It now seems clear to us that God ruled our councils. He made our declaration of principles manly and sin-

cere. He gave us Abraham Lincoln for President. May He send us like wisdom and success today. He tested us in a manner, and to an extent, which the liveliest imagination could not have anticipated.

Posterity, we hope, will decide that we met that test with the spirit worthy of a free people. Countless treasure, and three hundred thousand lives freely offered, are the evidence that we were solemnly in earnest. We offered our lives and our property; but it was not enough. We laid our prejudice of race and class upon the altar, and the consciousness that we at last deserved success redoubled our strength. The same high resolves rule today, and the Union men of this country are ready for equal and even greater sacrifices, if they be indispensable to the dedication of this continent to liberty and equal rights.

We learned the first lesson when we found that we must make all men free, and call all men to the battlefield. We learned the second lesson when we found that we must still move on and give impartially to all men a share in the government we were endeavoring to restore. With a clear and fearless expression of the essential and important questions at issue—which the people will understand and no ingenious device, no words can obscure or avoid—passing by all personal and temporary controversies, working in perfect confidence that the American people mean to do right, and will do it, in the end, we may be sure of triumph. The power of a nation of forty millions must be behind the just claim of the poorest workingman of whatever race, to recover even and just wages. Its majesty must be felt wherever the humblest loyal man appeals against personal violence and oppression. For every dollar of the national debt, the blood of a soldier is pledged. Every bond, in letter and spirit, must be as sacred as a soldier's grave. We must win, gentlemen, and we shall win. It is the old fight of liberty, equality and fraternity against oppression, caste and aristocracy. It is the old fight to make the world better, with "malice toward none and charity for all."

We may halt for a moment, or change direction, but the good cause always goes steadily forward. It is related—and whether it is true or not, the incident is well invented—that, on the evening of that awful battle of the Wilderness, when the legions of the Union army had fought all day, rather than by faith than sight, in the wild woods and tangled brush, that someone asked General Grant to step backward a little and reorganize, and that he replied, “We have done very well, gentlemen! At half past three in the morning we move forward!” We accept his spirit and his words.

Perhaps I am not anticipating in saying that we shall accept him in person again as our leader.

Thanking you again, gentlemen, very heartily for the honor conferred, I await the pleasure of the convention.

JOSEPH R. HAWLEY.

Joseph Roswell Hawley was born in Stewartsville, N. C., October 31, 1826. He was of English-Scotch ancestry. His father, Rev. Francis Hawley (descended from Samuel, who settled in Stratford, Conn., in 1639), was born in Farmington, Conn. He went south early and engaged in business, but afterward entered the Baptist ministry. He married Mary McLeod, a native of North Carolina, of Scotch parentage, and the family went to Connecticut in 1837, where the father was an active anti-slavery man. The son prepared for college at the Hartford grammar school and the seminary in Cazenovia, N. Y., whither the family removed about 1842. He was graduated at Hamilton in 1847, with a high reputation as a speaker and debater. He taught in the winters, studied law at Cazenovia and Hartford, and began practice in 1850. He immediately became chairman of the Free-soil state committee, wrote for the Free-soil press, and spoke in every canvass. He stoutly opposed the Knownothings, and devoted his energies to the union of all opponents of slavery. The first meeting for the organization of the Republican party in Connecticut was held in his office at his call, February 4, 1856. Among those present were Gideon Welles and

John M. Niles. Mr. Hawley gave three months to speaking in the Fremont canvass of 1856. In February, 1857, he abandoned law practice and became editor of the *Hartford EVENING PRESS*, the new distinctively Republican paper. His partner was William Faxon, afterward assistant secretary of the navy. He responded to the first call for troops in 1861 by drawing up a form of enlistment and, assisted by Drake, afterward colonel of the Tenth regiment, raising rifle company A, First Connecticut volunteers, which was organized and accepted in twenty-four hours, Hawley having personally engaged rifles at Sharp's factory. He became the captain, and is said to have been the first volunteer in the state. He received special praise for good conduct at Bull Run from General Erastus D. Keys, brigade commander. He directly united with Colonel Alfred H. Terry in raising the Seventh Connecticut volunteers, a three-years' regiment, of which he was lieutenant-colonel. It went South in the Port Royal expedition, and on the capture of the forts was the first sent ashore as a garrison. It was engaged four months in the siege of Fort Pulaski, and upon the surrender was selected as the garrison.

Hawley succeeded Terry, and commanded the regiment in the battle of James Island and Pocotaligo, and in Brannan's expedition to Florida. He went with his regiment to Florida, in January, 1863, and commanded the post of Fernandina, whence in April he undertook an unsuccessful expedition against Charleston. He also commanded a brigade on Morris Island in the siege of Charleston and the capture of Fort Wagner. In February, 1864, he had a brigade under General Truman Seymour in the battle of Olustee, Fla., where the whole national force lost 38 per cent. His regiment was one of the few that were armed with the Spencer breech-loading rifle. This weapon, which he procured in the autumn of 1863, proved very effective in the hands of his men. He went to Virginia in April, 1864, having a brigade in Terry's division, Tenth corps, Army of the James, and was in the battles of Drewry's Bluff, Deep Run, Derbytown Road and various

affairs near Bermuda Hundred and Deep Bottom. He commanded a division in the fight on the Newmarket Road, and engaged in the siege of Petersburg.

In September, 1864, he was made a brigadier-general, having been repeatedly recommended by his immediate superiors.

In November, 1864, he commanded a picked brigade sent to New York city to keep the peace during the week of the presidential election. He succeeded to Terry's division when Terry was sent to Fort Fisher in January, 1865, afterward rejoining him as chief of staff, Tenth corps, and on the capture of Wilmington was detached by General Schofield to establish a base of supplies there for Sherman's army, and command southeastern North Carolina. In June he rejoined Terry as chief of staff for the Department of Virginia. In October he went home, was brevetted major-general and was mustered out January 15, 1866.

In April, 1866, he was elected governor of Connecticut, but was defeated by James E. English in 1867, and then having united the PRESS and the COURANT, he resumed editorial life, and more vigorously than ever entered the political contests following the war. He was always in demand as a speaker throughout the country.

This had been the life and career of Joseph R. Hawley at the time he was chosen president of the convention of 1868. Of his later public service only a brief sketch will be given here. He was a member of the national convention of 1872 and 1876, and chairman of the committee on resolutions of the latter. He was elected to Congress in 1872, and twice re-elected. He was elected United States Senator in January, 1881, by the unanimous vote of his party, and three times re-elected, serving in that position twenty-four years.

William S. Pierson was the vice-president from Connecticut and Bartlett Bent secretary.

A delegation from the Soldiers' and Sailors' convention, then in session in Chicago, was in waiting to be received by the convention.



General Cochrane of New York, General Schurz of Missouri, General Dodge of Iowa and General Swett of Illinois were appointed a committee to receive them. They were presented by General Cochrane, and General Fairchild was introduced as the chairman of the delegation. He presented a resolution, which had been adopted by that convention, advocating the nomination of General Grant for President. Several attempts had already been made in the convention to nominate General Grant by acclamation, before the different committees were ready to report, so eager were many delegates to accomplish that object; but many objections were made by many leading delegates, who favored the regular order of procedure, and a call of the roll of states, at the proper time.

While waiting for the committee reports, many prominent delegates were called for to address the convention, among them General Logan, General Sickles and ex-Governor Brown of Georgia. The last finally responded. He was the governor of Georgia during the rebellion and became well known throughout the country. He was obliged to take the platform. His speech was enthusiastically received. He began by saying: "I came here, as has been well remarked, a reconstructed rebel. I was an original secessionist—'an open confession is good for the soul.'" He spoke at length and aroused much enthusiasm.

There were many "reconstructed rebels" among the delegates from the South. The committee on credentials then reported the list of delegates. Among the prominent ones, whose names have not already been mentioned were:

Ex-Governor Lane and General Walter Q. Gresham of Indiana, Eugene Hale of Maine, John A. J. Creswell of Maryland, William Claflin of Massachusetts, John I. Blair of New Jersey, Frederick Hassaurek of Ohio, Charles Andrews and Chauncey M. Depew of New York, Alexander McClure and John W. Forney of Pennsylvania, the later clerk of the United States Senate (President Johnson in one of his speeches "swinging round the circle" had called Forney "a dead duck"), and Horace Rublee of Wisconsin.

The committee on rules and order of business then reported, and after another unsuccessful attempt to proceed to the nomination of a candidate for President, the convention adjourned until Thursday at 10 A. M.

On the reassembling of the convention on Thursday (the second day), prayer was offered by Rev. John P. Gulliver, D.D. (late of Norwich in this state). Resolutions were received from the national council of the Union League of America, adopted on the previous day in Chicago. Mr. Hassaurek, a prominent German-American, was called for and made a lengthy speech, which was able and interesting. General John M. Palmer of Illinois was then introduced and warmly welcomed. His address was eloquent and frequently cheered.

Calls were then made for Cochrane, Logan, Sickles, Thayer, Tremain and Depew. Some were not then present and others declined to speak at that time. The committee on resolutions then reported through its chairman, Richard W. Thompson of Indiana. After two amendments, proposed by Carl Schurz had been added, the resolutions were enthusiastically adopted.

### THE PLATFORM.

The National Union Republican party of the United States, assembled in national convention, in the city of Chicago, on the 20th day of May, 1868, make the following declaration of principles:

1. We congratulate the country on the assured success of the reconstruction policy of congress, as evinced by the adoption, in a majority of the states lately in rebellion, of constitutions securing equal civil and political rights to all, and regard it as the duty of the government to sustain those constitutions, and to prevent the people of such states from being remitted to a state of anarchy or military rule.

2. The guaranty by congress of equal suffrage to all loyal men at the South was demanded by every consideration of public safety, of gratitude, and of justice, and must be maintained; while the question of suffrage in all loyal states properly belongs to the people of those states.

3. We denounce all forms of repudiation as a national crime; and national honor requires the payment of the public indebtedness in the utmost good faith to all creditors at home and abroad, not only according to the letter but the spirit of the laws under which it was contracted.

4. It is due to the labor of the nation that taxation should be equalized, and reduced as rapidly as national faith will permit.

5. The national debt, contracted as it has been for the preservation of the Union for all time to come, should be extended over a fair period for redemption; and it is the duty of congress to reduce the rate of interest thereon whenever it can honestly be done.

6. That the best policy to diminish our burden of debt is to so improve our credit that capitalists will seek to loan us money at lower rates of interest than we now pay, and must continue to pay so long as repudiation, partial or total, open or covert, is threatened or suspected.

7. The government of the United States should be administered with the strictest economy; and the corruptions which

have been so shamefully nursed and fostered by Andrew Johnson call loudly for radical reform.

8. We profoundly deplore the untimely and tragic death of Abraham Lincoln and regret the accession of Andrew Johnson to the Presidency, who has acted treacherously to the people who elected him and the cause he was pledged to support; has usurped high legislative and judicial functions; has refused to execute the laws; has used his high office to induce other officers to ignore and violate the laws; has employed his executive powers to render insecure the property, peace, liberty, and life of the citizen; has abused the pardoning power; has denounced the national legislature as unconstitutional; has persistently and corruptly resisted, by every means in his power, every proper attempt at the reconstruction of the states lately in rebellion; has perverted the public patronage into an engine of wholesale corruption; and has been justly impeached for high crimes and misdemeanors, and properly pronounced guilty thereof by the votes of thirty-five senators.

9. The doctrine of Great Britain and other European powers, that because a man is once a subject he is always so, must be resisted at every hazard by the United States, as a relic of the feudal times, not authorized by the law of nations, and at war with our national honor and independence. Naturalized citizens are entitled to be protected in all their rights of citizenship, as though they were native born; and no citizen of the United States, native or naturalized, must be liable to arrest and imprisonment by any foreign power, for acts done or words spoken in this country; and if so arrested and imprisoned, it is the duty of the government to interfere in his behalf.

10. Of all who are faithful in the trials of the late war, there were none entitled to more especial honor than the brave soldiers and seamen who endured the hardships of campaign and cruise, and imperiled their lives in the service of the country. The bounties and pensions provided by law for these brave defenders of the nation are obligations never to

be forgotten. The widows and orphans of the gallant dead are the wards of the people,—a sacred legacy bequeathed to the nation's protecting care.

11. We highly commend the spirit of magnanimity and forgiveness with which the men who have served the rebellion, but now frankly and honestly co-operate with us in restoring the peace of the country and reconstructing the Southern state governments upon the basis of impartial justice and equal rights, are received back into the communion of the loyal people; and we favor the removal of the disqualifications and restrictions imposed upon the late rebels in the same measure as the spirit of disloyalty will die out, and as may be consistent with the safety of the loyal people.

12. We recognize the great principles laid down in the immortal Declaration of Independence, as the true foundation of democratic government; and we hail with gladness every effort towards making these principles a living reality on every inch of American soil.

13. Foreign immigration, which in the past has added so much to the wealth, development of resources, and increase of power to this nation,—the asylum of the oppressed of all nations,—should be fostered and encouraged by a liberal and just policy.

14. This convention declares its sympathy with all the oppressed people who are struggling for their rights.

Then the convention proceeded to the nomination of a candidate for President.

General John A. Logan secured the floor and said:

In the name of the loyal citizens, soldiers and sailors of this great republic of the United States of America, in the name of loyalty and liberty, of humanity, of justice, in the name of the National Union Republican party, I nominate as a candidate for the chief magistracy of this nation, Ulysses S. Grant.

The greatest enthusiasm prevailed upon the nomination of General Grant. The mass of people rose and gave three rousing cheers for the nominee. Handkerchiefs were waved and the band played "Hail to the Chief."

The list of states and territories was called by the secretary, and, as called, the chairmen of the delegations announced the votes of their respective states. When Connecticut was called, the response came, "Mr. President, Connecticut unconditionally surrenders her twelve votes for Ulysses S. Grant."

When the call of the roll of states and territories had been completed, the president of the convention made this announcement: "Gentlemen of the convention, you have 650 votes. You have given 650 votes for Ulysses S. Grant."

Cheers were then given for General Grant, repeated again and again. The whole assembly arose and the cheering lasted for many minutes. A large full-length picture of General Grant, painted on canvas, was let down in the rear of the platform, and on it were the words, "Match him." A white dove was let loose and flew about the hall, high above the heads of the delegates and spectators. A song was sung by Chaplain Lozier, Chaplain McCabe and Major Lombard, written by George F. Root, entitled, "We'll fight it out here on the Old Union Line," and is given in full below.

We'll rally again to the standard we bore  
O'er battle-fields crimson and gory,  
Shouting "hail to the chief" who in freedom's fierce war,  
Hath covered that banner with glory.

Then rally again, then rally again,  
 With the soldier, and sailor, and drummer,  
 And we'll fight it out here on the Old Union Line,  
 No odds if it takes us all summer.

We'll rally again, by the side of the men,  
 Who breasted the conflict's fierce rattle,  
 And they'll find us still true, who were true to them then  
 And bade them "God speed" in the battle.

We'll rally again, and "that flag of the free"  
 Shall stay where our heroes have placed it,  
 And ne'er shall they govern, on land or on sea,  
 Whose treason hath spurned and disgraced it.

We'll rally again, and our motto shall be,  
 Whatever the nation that bore us,  
 God bless that old banner, "the flag of the free,"  
 And all who would die with it o'er us.

It was enthusiastically cheered. The convention then proceeded to the nomination of a candidate for Vice-President.

It having been known for many months that General Grant's name would be the only one presented to the convention as a candidate for President, there came into the field a number of candidates for the Vice-Presidency, and for some time before the convention met there was an energetic canvass made throughout the country in the interest of each of them. The more prominent candidates were Benjamin F. Wade of Ohio, Reuben E. Fenton of New York, Henry Wilson of Massachusetts, and Schuyler Colfax of Indiana. The other names presented to the convention were Hannibal Hamlin of Maine, Andrew G. Curtin of Pennsylvania, James Speed of Ken-

tucky, James Harlan of Iowa, John A. J. Creswell of Maryland, Samuel C. Pomeroy of Kansas, and William D. Kelley of Pennsylvania.

Benjamin F. Wade—"Honest Ben Wade"—as he was familiarly called, then a United States senator, was chosen president of the senate, and became acting Vice-President March 2, 1867, to succeed Lafayette S. Foster of Connecticut, whose term as senator was about to expire.

Reuben E. Fenton was then governor of New York and had recently been elected a United States senator. He had previously served several terms in congress.

Henry Wilson was then a senator from Massachusetts, the colleague of Charles Sumner, both of whom were senators for several terms.

Schuyler Colfax had been a member of congress for fifteen years and was serving his third term as speaker of the house of representatives. I had known him for about a year and a half. He had been a guest at my father's house in Danbury and I had dined with him at his home in Washington. He was a genial, lovable man, with marked ability, and had won my admiration. He was the idol of his party, not only in his congressional district, but throughout Indiana. His popularity had extended all over the country and it is very probable that had General Grant not been a candidate for the Presidency, Colfax would have been the nominee.

The names of the different candidates were presented by delegates from their respective states in eulogistic speeches, and seconded by those of other states. The roll of states and territories was then called, and the



balloting began and continued until a nomination was made. The result of the different ballots was as follows:

Whole number of votes on each ballot.....	648					
Necessary to a choice .....	325					
	1	2	3	4	5	6
Wade .....	147	170	178	206	207	38
Fenton .....	126	144	139	144	139	69
Wilson .....	119	114	101	87	56	...
Colfax .....	115	145	165	186	226	541
Curtin .....	51	45	40	...	...	...
Hamlin .....	28	30	25	25	20	...
Speed .....	22	...	...	...	...	...
Harlan .....	16	...	...	...	...	...
Cresswell .....	14	...	...	...	...	...
Pomeroy .....	6	...	...	...	...	...
Kelley .....	4	...	...	...	...	...

At the close of the fifth ballot many of the states changed their votes from other candidates to Schuyler Colfax, and he was nominated.

The applause was tremendous and prolonged. General Sickles, in behalf of the New York delegation, moved that the nomination of Mr. Colfax be made unanimous. The motion prevailed unanimously, after cheers for the nominee, Henry Wilson, Governor Fenton and "Ben" Wade. The president said: "There is nobody left. We need not call for the noes. Schuyler Colfax is the nominee of the convention." Connecticut had divided its twelve votes among the different candidates. On the third and fourth ballots Fenton had a majority of its votes, and he had six on the fifth ballot.

A dispatch was then read from Schuyler Colfax to John D. Defrees of Indiana, in which he said: "I read

this morning to General Grant the midnight dispatch giving an abstract of the platform and General Grant heartily approved its tone."

The officers of the convention were appointed a committee to notify the candidates of their nomination.

The names of those selected for members of the national committee were then announced. Henry H. Starkweather of Norwich was named for Connecticut.

The committee met later and chose William Claflin of Massachusetts, chairman, and William E. Chandler of New Hampshire, secretary.

A vote of thanks to the officers of the convention, the committee of arrangements and the former national committee, was then passed. Three cheers were given for the president of the convention, General Hawley, and there were loud cries for a speech from him. He stepped forward and said: "Gentlemen, perhaps it is thrown away to say that it must be an impossibility for any person to speak now, after the labors of the day, and I think quite as nearly impossible for any person to listen. I thank you for the compliment of the call. I shall save all my strength of body and mind for the campaign, for from now until the day of the election I shall write editorials, or take the stump, and hence I am satisfied you will excuse me." His brief remarks were received with prolonged applause.

The convention then came to a close, with Grant and Colfax as the standard bearers of the party.

The life of Ulysses S. Grant, who became so famous during the Civil War as the most successful general of

our armies, is so familiar to every citizen of this country that no biographical sketch seems necessary here.

#### SCHUYLER COLFAX.

Schuyler Colfax was born in New York City, March 23, 1823. His grandfather was General William Colfax, who commanded the life-guards of Washington throughout the Revolutionary war.

His father died a short time before the son's birth, and in 1834 his mother married George W. Matthews.

After attending the public schools till he was ten years of age, and three years as clerk in his step-father's store, Schuyler went with the family to Indiana in 1836, and settled in New Carlisle, St. Joseph County, where Mr. Matthews soon became postmaster. The boy continued to serve as his clerk, and began a journal to aid himself in composition, contributing at the same time to the county paper. His step-father retired from business in 1839, and Colfax then began the study of law, but afterwards gave it up. In 1841 Mr. Matthews was elected county auditor, and removed to South Bend, making his step-son his deputy, which office Colfax held for eight years.

He reported the proceedings of the state senate for the Indianapolis JOURNAL for two years.

In 1844 he made campaign speeches for Henry Clay. He became editor of the ST. JOSEPH VALLEY REGISTER of South Bend, and by his efforts largely increased its circulation, so that it became the most influential journal, in support of Whig politics, in that part of Indiana.

Mr. Colfax was secretary of the Baltimore Whig convention of 1848 which nominated Taylor for President.

He was offered a nomination for the state senate in Indiana, but declined it. In 1851 he was a candidate for congress, and came near being elected in a district that was strongly Democratic. He accepted his opponents' challenge to a joint canvass, travelled a thousand miles, and spoke seventy times. He was again a delegate to the Whig National

Convention in 1852, and, having joined the newly formed Republican party, was its successful candidate for congress in 1854, serving by successive re-elections till 1869.

In 1856 he supported Fremont for President, and during the canvass made a speech in congress on the extension of slavery and the aggressions of the slave-power. This speech was used as a campaign document, and more than half a million copies were circulated. After the election of Lincoln in 1860, Mr. Colfax's name was widely mentioned for the office of postmaster-general, but the President selected Caleb B. Smith of Indiana, on the ground, as he afterward wrote Colfax, that the latter was "a young man, running a brilliant career and sure of a bright future in any event." He was elected speaker of the House on December 7, 1863, and was twice re-elected, each time by an increased majority, and gained the applause of both friends and opponents by his skill as presiding officer, often shown under very trying circumstances.

#### NOTIFICATION OF GENERAL GRANT.

In reply to the notification of his nomination for President, sent to General Grant, he returned the following reply.

Mr. Colfax also replied, accepting the nomination for Vice-President.

Letter of acceptance from General U. S. Grant.

*To General J. R. Hawley, President National Union Convention:*

In formally accepting the nomination of the National Union Republican Convention of the 21st of May instant, it seems proper that some statement of views beyond the mere acceptance of the nomination should be expressed.

The proceedings of the convention were marked with wisdom, moderation and patriotism, and I believe express the feelings of the great mass of those who sustained the country through its recent trials.

I endorse the resolutions. If elected to the office of President of the United States it will be my endeavor to administer all the laws in good faith, with economy, and with the view of giving peace, quiet and protection everywhere.

In times like the present it is impossible, or at least eminently improper, to lay down a policy to be adhered to, right or wrong, through an administration of four years. New political issues, not foreseen, are constantly arising; the views of the public on old ones are constantly changing, and a purely administrative officer should always be left free to execute the will of the people. I always have respected that will, and always shall.

Peace and universal prosperity—its sequence—with economy of administration, will lighten the burden of taxation, while it constantly reduces the national debt. Let us have peace.

With great respect, your obedient servant,

U. S. GRANT.

Washington, May 29, 1868.

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While on my way home from the convention I saw in the NEW YORK TRIBUNE a Washington dispatch to the effect that Mr. Colfax had called upon General Grant at the war office while the convention was in session, and during their conversation had given General Grant a cigar. General Grant smoked it, seemed pleased with it, and asked Mr. Colfax where he bought those cigars, and the latter replied, "At Danbury, Conn.," and gave him the name of the manufacturer, Henry Bernd. Later, General Grant wrote Mr. Bernd a letter, enclosing the price and requested him to send him a box of the same brand, which Mr. Bernd did. Mr. Bernd kept General Grant's letter many years under the glass in his showcase, where it could be seen and read by any one. Later

a traveling salesman persuaded Mr. Bernd to let him take the letter to show to some friends, promising to return it, but he never did, much to Mr. Bernd's regret and sorrow.

Mr. Colfax was in Danbury during the holiday recess in the winter of 1866-'67 to deliver his lecture "Across the Continent." While a guest at my father's house he smoked some of this brand of cigars and was greatly pleased with them. On his return to Washington he wrote me and asked me to send him a box of the cigars. Later, every month or two, for one or two years, he sent me an order for four boxes. Mr. Bernd gave the cigars the name of the "Colfax Delight," and had a picture of Mr. Colfax on the label of each box. They had a large sale for eight years or more, until a crop of poor tobacco deteriorated their quality, and the demand gradually fell off. Mr. Bernd was a Republican senator for the Danbury district in the legislature of 1895-'96.



**THE FIFTH  
REPUBLICAN NATIONAL  
CONVENTION**





ULYSSES S. GRANT

REPUBLICAN  
CANDIDATES

1872



HENRY WILSON

THE FIFTH REPUBLICAN NATIONAL CONVENTION  
HELD AT PHILADELPHIA, PA., JUNE 5 and 6, 1872

*For President*—ULYSSES S. GRANT, of Illinois  
*For Vice-President*—HENRY WILSON, of Massachusetts

The nominees of the National Convention of 1868, Grant and Colfax, were overwhelmingly elected in the November following, over Horatio Seymour and Francis P. Blair, the Democratic candidates. They carried twenty-six states, with a popular vote of 3,015,071, while Seymour and Blair carried only eight states, with a popular vote of 2,709,613.

General Grant was inaugurated on March 4, 1869, and had been President over three years when the fifth National Convention met in Philadelphia in June, 1872. President Grant had carried out, so far as was within his power, the wish expressed in his letter of acceptance of the nomination of 1868, addressed to General Hawley, the president of that convention, which letter closed as follows:

Peace and universal prosperity—its sequence—with economy of administration, will lighten the burden of taxation, while it constantly reduces the national debt. Let us have peace.

The closing words became famous. His administration had been vigorous and progressive. Important reforms had been inaugurated and measures of vital moment to the nation, both at home and abroad, had been carried to a successful conclusion in the face of opposition from some of the most prominent men of his own political party. Not a few Republicans became estranged, feeling that they were being ignored by the executive, and formed themselves into an organization under the name of "Liberal Republicans." This opposition resulted in the holding of a convention in Cincinnati May 1, 1872, and the nomination of Horace Greeley as its candidate for the Presidency, which nomination was afterward ratified by the Democratic convention held later in Baltimore. Engaged and prominent in this movement with Mr. Greeley were Charles Francis Adams of Massachusetts and Carl Schurz of Missouri, the former being Mr. Greeley's most prominent opponent for the Presidential nomination. B. Gratz Brown of Missouri was nominated as the candidate for Vice-President.

When the Republican National Convention assembled in Philadelphia it was well known that General Grant would be unanimously renominated and the only contest would be over the candidate for Vice-President. The delegates from Connecticut were as follows:

## AT LARGE.

Joseph R. Hawley (chairman), Hartford; Bartlett Bent, Middletown; Sabin L. Sayles, Killingly; John Tweedy, Danbury.

## DISTRICT.

First—James D. Frary, New Britain; Lucius S. Fuller, Tolland.

Second—Charles Parker, Meriden; Jared E. Redfield, Essex.

Third—Daniel Chadwick, Lyme; George S. Moulton, Willimantic.

Fourth—Israel M. Bullock, Bridgeport; Joseph F. Calhoun, Torrington.

General Hawley, Bartlett Bent and Sabin L. Sayles had also been delegates to the 1868 convention.

Mr. Bent was an able political manager and was chairman of the state committee during the Jewell-English campaigns. Mr. Sayles, Mr. Frary, Mr. Parker, Mr. Moulton and Mr. Calhoun were prominent manufacturers in their respective towns. Mr. Frary and Mr. Sayles were also members of Governor Jewell's staff. Mr. Chadwick and Mr. Bullock were prominent lawyers (the latter was a member of the legislature in 1869). He was a talented, sweet tempered and lovable young man, whose early death seemed most untimely. Mr. Redfield was a banker in Essex and Mr. Fuller was active in Tolland county politics as well as in state politics. Governor Jewell attended the convention and was in consultation there with the leading Republicans of the country.

Rooms and parlors for the delegates had been engaged by Colonel Frary at the Continental Hotel, some time in advance, which, with the other hotels in the city, was crowded with delegates and visitors.

THE NEW YORK TRIBUNE was represented at the convention by Isaac H. Bromley, well known in Connecticut as the former editor of the NORWICH BULLETIN, and later of the HARTFORD POST. He had been THE TRIBUNE's Connecticut correspondent for many years and his reports of political conventions, especially the Democratic, were often very amusing; and even after moving to New York and becoming one of the editors of THE TRIBUNE, he did not lose his interest in Connecticut politics. He was greatly interested in the "Liberal Republican" movement and became secretary of the state committee of that organization in Connecticut (David Clark of Hartford being the chairman), and was an active supporter of Mr. Greeley. While at Philadelphia he interviewed many of the delegates and seemed quite anxious to prevent General Grant's unanimous nomination. He argued the matter with the delegates very earnestly and appeared to hope that at least one delegate would not vote for Grant. He was, however, doomed to disappointment.

Meeting him at the Union League Club in New York in 1896, the day after McKinley's first election, and while we were chatting with several friends, he told some amusing political stories and also spoke of the Grant-Greeley campaign. He said he visited Mr. Greeley while the latter was ill at Chappaqua a few weeks after the election. Mr. Greeley asked him many questions about the election and the result in Connecticut and among others, inquired how Manchester voted. Mr. Bromley replied, and Mr. Greeley then said: "Ike, how did the Cheneys vote?" Mr. Bromley said, when it came to

asking how different individuals voted he thought it was time for him to leave, which he did forthwith.

George Francis Train was at the Continental looking after his presidential boom. He had nominated himself as the "People's Candidate" and was interviewing the delegates, and circulating quantities of campaign literature advocating his election, and seemed confident of success.

The Academy of Music, where the convention was held, was the largest building of the kind in the city. It was connected with Horticultural Hall, another large building, by a passageway, and the latter hall was used for committee and other purposes. The Academy was handsomely decorated with American flags and bunting both without and within. It was so enclosed that but little daylight could enter, so it was lighted with gas, which added to the heat and made the air uncomfortably warm.

The convention assembled on Wednesday, June 5, at 12 o'clock noon, and was called to order by William Claflin of Massachusetts, chairman of the national committee, who made an opening address. Rev. Dr. Alexander Reed then offered prayer.

Morton McMichael of Philadelphia was named for temporary chairman. He was conducted to the chair by ex-Governor Henry S. Lane of Indiana, James H. Platt, Jr., of Virginia, and James Lewis of Louisiana.

Mr. McMichael was a journalist, a polished, fluent speaker, and made an able address. He was for many years the proprietor of the NORTH AMERICAN AND UNITED STATES GAZETTE, and had been mayor of Philadelphia and prominent in city affairs in various ways.

The usual committees were then appointed. Those from Connecticut were as follows:

On Credentials—James D. Frary.

On Permanent Organization—Bartlett Bent.

On Resolutions—Joseph R. Hawley.

On Rules and Order of Business—Daniel Chadwick.

General John A. Logan, in response to repeated and continual calls, came upon the platform and, having been introduced by the chairman, made a brief address.

Gerritt Smith, a delegate from New York, was then called for. Mr. Spencer, of that delegation, saying: "Mr. Chairman, the delegation from the state of New York desire me to move that their venerable head, the oldest pioneer in the cause of emancipation in this room, Gerritt Smith, be invited to address you." The motion was received with great enthusiasm, "delegates all over the building rising in their places, waving their hats and handkerchiefs and calling for Mr. Smith. The chairman came down from the platform and moved towards the part of the house, where Mr. Smith was waiting, to conduct him before the audience. Music being called for to fill up the gap until Mr. Smith could get on the platform, the band in the circle played 'Hail to the Chief.'" Three cheers were given for Mr. Smith and he began his speech, which was heartily cheered throughout. He spoke strongly against Ku-Kluxism, then prevalent in the South, and thought President Grant the man needed to crush it out.

United States Senator Oliver P. Morton, the "war governor of Indiana," was then introduced. On account of an infirmity he was obliged to be seated. He made a lengthy address which was frequently cheered. James

L. Orr of South Carolina was then presented to the convention. He had been prominent before the war as a Democrat, having been a member of congress ten years and was chosen speaker in 1857. He was opposed to secession, but later followed his state into the movement. He was a member of the Confederate senate, but after the war closed was chosen governor of South Carolina under President Johnson's plan of reconstruction. He was in 1870 elected circuit judge for South Carolina and appointed minister to Russia in 1872. He was an eloquent speaker and his speech was enthusiastically received.

General Hawley was then loudly called for and went upon the platform. He said: "Mr. Chairman and gentlemen, I assure you that, while I am gratified by this call, I am greatly embarrassed, also, for I desire to call for the report of the committee on permanent organization. There may be other opportunities during the session of this convention when I may desire to say a few words. It is not the time now for cool and deliberate argument. Will you, then, permit me now to call for the report of the committee on permanent organization?"

The committee was not ready to report, so other prominent delegates were called for to address the convention, among them the colored delegates from the South, of whom there were many in the convention. Among those who spoke were William H. Grey of Arkansas, R. B. Elliott, M. C., of South Carolina, and James B. Harris of North Carolina. They were all eloquent speakers and were loudly cheered.

The committee on permanent organization then reported, through its chairman, General Charles Albright of Pennsylvania, the list of officers for the convention:

Thomas Settle of North Carolina was named for president. Mr. Settle, a lawyer, had been prominent in North Carolina politics prior to the war as a Democrat and was in the Confederate army. He became a Republican in 1865 and was judge of the state supreme court in 1868-1871. The vice-president for Connecticut was Sabin L. Sayles, and the secretary Daniel Chadwick.

Mr. Settle was escorted to the chair and was received with great cheering. His address was brief and loudly applauded.

The convention then adjourned until Thursday at 10 o'clock A. M.

On the reassembling of the convention on Thursday morning (the second day), prayer was offered by Rev. Dr. Hantz. General Henry H. Bingham of Philadelphia, the permanent secretary, then called the roll of states and territories and all were found present with full delegations.

The result of the election just held in Oregon was then announced, showing that the Republicans had redeemed the state, electing the legislature and the representatives in congress. There was great cheering.

The committees on credentials and rules and order of business then reported, both reports being adopted. Oliver Ames of Massachusetts was the chairman of the latter. Among the prominent delegates from the different states were the following:

Maine—Isaiah Stetson, Frederick Robie and Alexander H. S. Davis.

New Hampshire—Frederick Smyth, Ossian Ray and George B. Twitchell.



Vermont—John Gregory Smith and Horace Fairbank.

Massachusetts—Alexander H. Rice, George B. Loring, William Craflin, Oliver Ames and John B. D. Coggsell.

Rhode Island—Ambrose E. Burnside, Nelson W. Aldrich and William Goddard.

Connecticut—Joseph R. Hawley, Bartlett Bent and Daniel Chadwick.

New York—Gerritt Smith, Horace B. Claflin, John A. King, Stewart L. Woodford, William E. Dodge, Martin I. Townsend and Andrew D. White.

New Jersey—Cortlandt Parker, Alexander G. Cattell, Amos Clark, Jr., and D. S. Gregory.

Pennsylvania—Morton McMichael, Henry H. Bingham, Charles Albright and G. W. Scofield.

Ohio—Rutherford B. Hayes, Edward F. Noyes, Jacob Mueller and W. D. Bickman.

Indiana—Henry S. Lane, Richard W. Thompson, George K. Steele and Sol. Meredith.

Illinois—Emery Storrs, Shelby M. Cullom, Herman Raster and Leonard F. Ross.

Wisconsin—Lucius Fairchild, E. W. Keyes, Thaddeus C. Pound and Thomas S. Allen.

Michigan—William A. Howard, George Willard and Newell Avery.

Minnesota—D. M. Sabin, A. C. Dodge and William S. King.

Nebraska—John I. Redick and Henry M. Atkinson.

Kansas—John A. Martin and Benjamin F. Simpson.

Kentucky—James Speed, William Cassius Goodloe and Walter Evans.

Maryland—James A. Gary, Charles C. Fulton and John T. Ensor.

Delaware—John C. Clark and James R. Lofland.

Missouri—John B. Henderson, Chauncey I. Filley, Henry T. Blow, E. O. Stannard and William Warner.

North Carolina—Thomas Settle and Joseph C. Abbott.

The roll of states was then called for the names of members of the national committee. Connecticut named Marshall Jewell. Resolutions from the Union League of America were then presented, received and ordered to be entered on the records of the convention.

The committee on resolutions not being ready to report, various speakers were called for and addressed the convention, among them George W. Carter of Texas, Paul Strobach of Alabama, Emery A. Storrs of Illinois and ex-Senator John B. Henderson of Missouri.

An effort was then made to suspend the rules and ballot for a candidate for President of the United States, before the committee on resolutions had reported, but it was unsuccessful.

James R. Lynch, colored, then secretary of state of Mississippi, was loudly called for and addressed the convention in a very able and eloquent speech.

General Edward F. Noyes, then governor of Ohio, was called for and made a short address which was frequently cheered. At its close, he moved a suspension of the rules and that the convention proceed to a ballot for a candidate for President. The motion was carried amid great applause.

Shelby M. Cullom of Illinois proceeded to the platform to address the convention. He had already served several terms in congress, was later governor of Illinois, and afterwards United States senator. He said:

*Gentlemen of the Convention:*

On behalf of the great Republican party of Illinois and that of the Union, in the name of liberty, of loyalty, of justice and of law, in the interest of economy, of good government, of peace and of the equal rights of all, remembering with

profound gratitude his glorious achievements in the field and his noble statesmanship as chief magistrate of this great nation, I nominate for President of the United States, for a second term, Ulysses S. Grant.

"A scene of the wildest excitement followed this speech. The spacious Academy was crowded with thousands of spectators in every part, and on the stage, in the parquet, and in tier upon tier of galleries, arose deafening, prolonged, tremendous cheers, swelling from pit to dome. A perfect wilderness of hats, caps and handkerchiefs waved to and fro in a surging mass as three times three reverberated from thousands of voices. The band appeared to catch the prevailing enthusiasm and waved their instruments as though they had been flags. Amid cries of 'Music!' 'Music!' they struck up 'Hail to the Chief.' As the majestic stream of the music came floating down from the balcony, a life-size equestrian portrait of General Grant came down, as if by magic, filling the entire space of the back scene, and the enthusiasm knew no bounds."

Stewart L. Woodford of New York then ascended the platform and seconded the nomination in a speech which was received with tremendous enthusiasm. M. D. Boruck of California also seconded the nomination in a brief address. The roll of states and territories was then called and the vote of each announced by the chairman.

When Connecticut was called, Bartlett Bent, for General Hawley, chairman, responded: "Today, as four years ago, Connecticut gives her twelve votes for Ulysses S. Grant." When the roll call was completed the president arose and said: "It is a pleasure to the chair to announce that Ulysses S. Grant has received 752 votes—

the entire vote of every state and territory in the Union." The most tumultuous and continued cheering again burst from the immense audience. The band, at this announcement, played the air of a "Grant Campaign Song," the tenor of which was sung by a gentleman standing among the instruments, and the chorus by a large choir of gentlemen. The song was received with great enthusiasm. It was as follows:

Rally round our leaders, men,  
We're arming for the fight.  
We'll raise our glorious standard,  
And battle for the right.  
To swell our gallant army,  
Come from hill and plain,  
Grant shall win the victory  
For President again.

CHORUS.

Let the drum and bugle sound,  
We'll march to meet the foe.  
Let our joyous shouts resound,  
That all the land may know  
The sons of freedom in their might  
Have come from hill and plain  
To make the brave Ulysses  
Our President again.

He's a gallant hero,  
And noble statesman, too.  
He's safely brought our Ship of State  
The darkest dangers through;  
Let every brave and true man  
Join our loyal band,  
Till loud resounds the victory  
From mountain, vale and strand.

CHORUS—Let the drum, etc.

And when the battle's over,  
 We homeward turn again,  
 We'll join the lovely lasses  
 To music's thrilling strain;  
 And loud the anthem swelling,  
 To Grant, our noble chief,  
 Who won our country's battles  
 And saved the land from grief.

CHORUS—Let the drum, etc.

Then rally round our leaders, men,  
 We're arming for the fight.  
 We'll raise our glorious standard,  
 And battle for the right.  
 To swell our gallant army,  
 Come from hill and plain.  
 Grant shall win the victory  
 For President again.

CHORUS—Let the drum, etc.

“When this was concluded a cry went from the multitude, ‘John Brown!’ The band struck up the familiar, electrifying strains which our soldiers used to sing when marching to the front. The whole concourse rose as one mass. From the parquet to the upper tier the vast multitude stood up and rolled out the grand old hymn of freedom. Strong men wept with intensity of feeling. There was scarcely a dry eye in the great assemblage; not a heart that was not thrilled with the sublimity of the moment. When this song was at last finished, the cry came for ‘Rally Round the Flag,’ and the air of that battle song was given by the band, the whole audience singing the words with the same fervor with which the hymn had been rendered. This concluded, the band

gave 'Yankee Doodle,' in the midst of tumultuous cheers. Songs were then sung by Lyman B. Church of Montana, among them 'The Red, White and Blue' (which he sang in the Wigwam in Chicago in 1860 at the time of Mr. Lincoln's nomination), the band accompanying and the audience joining in the chorus."

The rules were then suspended and the convention proceeded to the nomination of a candidate for Vice-President. Vice-President Colfax would undoubtedly have been the only candidate before the convention, had he not about a year before, in a letter to a friend, stated that he had decided not to be again a candidate. The course he had taken injured his prospects for the nomination, for soon after his withdrawal, United States Senator Henry Wilson entered the field and soon became a prominent candidate. His name had been presented to the convention in 1868 and he then received 119 votes on the first ballot. There was an exciting contest in Philadelphia over the nomination, the friends of each candidate feeling confident of success.

Senator Wilson's name was presented by Morton McMichael, and the nomination seconded by George B. Loring of Massachusetts, Ossian Ray of New Hampshire, Gerritt Smith, J. F. Quarles of Georgia, Governor Noyes and Powell Clayton of Arkansas.

Vice-President Colfax's name was presented by Richard W. Thompson of Indiana, and seconded by William A. Howard of Michigan, James R. Lynch and Cortlandt Parker of New Jersey.

Before the ballot was taken the committee on resolutions presented its report through its chairman, Glenn W. Scofield of Pennsylvania, who announced that Gen-

eral Hawley, who had acted as secretary of the committee, would read the resolutions. The resolutions were then read, loudly cheered and enthusiastically adopted.

#### RESOLUTIONS.

The Republican party of the United States, assembled in National Convention in the city of Philadelphia, on the 5th and 6th days of June, 1872, again declares its faith, appeals to its history, and announces its position upon the questions before the country.

1. During the eleven years of supremacy, it has accepted with grand courage the solemn duties of the time. It suppressed a gigantic rebellion, emancipated four millions of slaves, decreed the equal citizenship of all, and established universal suffrage. Exhibiting unparalleled magnanimity, it criminally punished no man for political offences, and warmly welcomed all who proved loyalty by obeying the laws, and dealing justly with their neighbors. It has steadily decreased with a firm hand the resultant disorders of a great war, and initiated a wise and humane policy towards the Indians. The Pacific Railroad and similar vast enterprises have been generously aided and successfully conducted, the public lands freely given to actual settlers, immigration protected and encouraged, and a full acknowledgment of the naturalized citizen's rights secured from European powers. A uniform national currency has been provided, repudiation frowned down, the national credit sustained under the most extraordinary burdens, and new bonds negotiated at lower rates. The revenues have been carefully collected and honestly applied. Despite large annual reductions of the rates of taxation, the public debt has been reduced during General Grant's presidency at the rate of a hundred millions a year, great financial crises have been avoided, and peace and plenty prevail throughout the land. Menacing foreign difficulties have been peacefully and honorably composed, and the honor and power of the nation kept in high respect throughout the world. This glorious record

of the past is the party's best pledge for the future. We believe the people will not entrust the government to any party or combination of men composed chiefly of those who have resisted every step of this beneficent progress.

2. The recent amendments to the national constitution should be cordially sustained because they are right, not merely tolerated because they are laws, and should be carried out according to their spirit by appropriate legislation, the enforcement of which can safely be entrusted only to the party that secured those amendments.

3. Complete liberty and exact equality in the enjoyment of all civil, political, and public rights should be established and effectually maintained throughout the Union by efficient and appropriate state and federal legislation. Neither the law nor its administration should admit any discrimination in respect of citizens by reason of race, creed, color or previous condition of servitude.

4. The national government should seek to maintain honorable peace with all nations, protecting its citizens everywhere and sympathizing with all peoples who strive for greater liberty.

5. Any system of the civil service under which the subordinate positions of the government are considered rewards for mere party zeal, is fatally demoralizing, and we therefore favor a reform of the system by laws which shall abolish the evils of patronage, and make honesty, efficiency and fidelity the essential qualifications for public positions, without practically creating a life-tenure of office.

6. We are opposed to further grants of the public lands to corporations and monopolies, and demand that the national domain be set apart for free homes for the people.

7. The annual revenue, after paying current expenditures, pensions, and the interest on the public debt, should furnish a moderate balance for the reduction of the principal, and that revenue, except so much as may be derived from a tax upon tobacco and liquors, should be raised by duties upon importations, the details of which should be so adjusted as to



aid in securing remunerative wages to labor, and to promote the industries, prosperity, and growth of the whole country.

8. We hold in undying honor the soldiers and sailors whose valor saved the Union. Their pensions are a sacred debt of the nation, and the widows and orphans of those who died for their country are entitled to the care of a generous and grateful people. We favor such additional legislation as will extend the bounty of the government to all our soldiers and sailors who were honorably discharged, and who, in the line of duty, became disabled, without regard to the length of service of the cause of such discharge.

9. The doctrine of Great Britain and other European powers concerning allegiance—"once a subject always a subject"—having at last, through the efforts of the Republican party, been abandoned, and the American idea of the individual's rights to transfer allegiance having been accepted by European nations, it is the duty of our government to guard with jealous care the rights of adopted citizens against the assumption of unauthorized claims by their former governments; and we urge continued careful encouragement and protection of voluntary immigration.

10. The franking privilege ought to be abolished, and the way prepared for a speedy reduction in the rates of postage.

11. Among the questions which press for attention is that which concerns the relations of capital and labor; and the Republican party recognizes the duty of so shaping legislation as to secure full protection and the amplest field for capital, and for labor—the creator of capital—the largest opportunities and a just share of the mutual profits of these two great servants of civilization.

12. We hold that Congress and the President have only fulfilled an imperative duty in their measures for the suppression of violent and treasonable organizations in certain lately rebellious regions, and for the protection of the ballot-box, and therefore they are entitled to the thanks of the people.

13. We denounce the repudiation of the public debt, in any form or disguise, as a national crime. We witness with pride the reduction of the principal of the debt, and of the rates of interest upon the balance, and confidently expect that our excellent national currency will be perfected by a speedy resumption of specie payment.

14. The Republican party is mindful of its obligations to the loyal women of America for their noble devotion to the cause of freedom. Their admission to wider fields of usefulness is viewed with satisfaction, and the honest demand of any class of citizens for additional rights should be treated with respectful consideration.

15. We heartily approve the action of Congress in extending amnesty to those lately in rebellion, and rejoice in the growth of peace and fraternal feeling throughout the land.

16. The Republican party proposes to respect the rights reserved by the people to themselves as carefully as the powers delegated by them to the state and to the federal government. It disapproves of the resort to unconstitutional laws for the purpose of removing evils, by interference with rights not surrendered by the people to either the state or national government.

17. It is the duty of the general government to adopt such measures as may tend to encourage and restore American commerce and shipbuilding.

18. We believe that the modest patriotism, the earnest purpose, the sound judgment, the practical wisdom, the incorruptible integrity, and the illustrious services of Ulysses S. Grant have commended him to the heart of the American people, and with him at our head we start today upon a new march to victory.

19. Henry Wilson, nominated for the Vice-Presidency, known to the whole land from the early days of the great struggle for liberty as an indefatigable laborer in all campaigns, an incorruptible legislator, and a representative man

of American institutions, is worthy to associate with our great leader, and share the honors which we pledge our best efforts to bestow upon them.

The nineteenth resolution was adopted after the nomination of the candidate for Vice-President.

The ballot for candidate for Vice-President was then taken.

At the conclusion of the roll call the vote stood as follows:

Whole number of votes .....	752
Necessary to a choice .....	377
Wilson .....	364½
Colfax .....	321½
Horace Maynard of Tennessee.....	26
John F. Lewis of Virginia.....	22
Edmund J. Davis of Texas.....	16
Scattering .....	2
	<hr/>
	752

The vote of Virginia was then changed from Lewis to Wilson, as well as those of other states, and the vote then stood:

Wilson .....	399½
Colfax .....	368½
Maynard .....	26
Davis .....	16
Scattering .....	2

Connecticut had voted six for Wilson and six for Colfax.

At this point, although the result of the ballot had not been announced, it was apparent to all that Henry Wilson of Massachusetts had received a majority of the votes of the convention and the wildest demonstration

of excitement broke out in every part of the house. The enthusiasm was a repetition of that which was manifested when the nomination of President Grant was announced. Chairmen of delegations on different parts of the floor were, amid all the commotion, struggling to obtain recognition by the chair to change the votes of their states, when the floor was awarded to ex-Governor Lane of Indiana, who moved to make the nomination of Senator Wilson unanimous. The motion was put and carried, the entire convention rising.

The president then announced the nomination of Ulysses S. Grant and Henry Wilson as the candidates of the Republican party, respectively for the office of President and Vice-President of the United States, and that the officers of the convention would notify them officially of their nomination.

The president then read the following telegraphic dispatch from Schuyler Colfax to Colonel John W. Foster of Indiana :

Accept for yourself and delegation my sincere gratitude for your gallant contest. I support the ticket cheerfully. Men are nothing, principles everything. Nothing must arrest Republican triumph until equality under law, like liberty, from which it springs, is universally acknowledged, and the citizenship of the humblest becomes a sure protection against outrage and wrong, as was Roman citizenship of old.

The thanks of the convention were then voted to the citizens of Philadelphia for their kind treatment and courtesy, and also to the president and officers of the convention.

The convention then came to a close with cheers.

The national committee met later and chose Edwin D. Morgan of New York, chairman, and William E. Chandler of New Hampshire, secretary.

#### HENRY WILSON.

Henry Wilson was born in Farmington, N. H., February 16, 1812. He was a son of a farm laborer, whose ancestors were from the north of Ireland, and at the age of ten was apprenticed to a farmer till the age of twenty-one. During those eleven years of service he received not more than twelve months' schooling altogether, but read more than a thousand volumes. When his apprenticeship terminated in December, 1833, he set out from Farmington on foot in search of work, which he found at Natick, Mass., in the house of a shoemaker. On attaining his majority he had his name, which was Jeremiah Jones Colbath, changed by legislative enactment to the simpler one of Henry Wilson.

He learned the trade of his employer and followed it for two years, earning enough money to return to New Hampshire and study in academies there.

He became an ardent abolitionist during the attempt that was made in 1835 to stop the discussion of the slavery question by violent means. In 1840 he supported William Henry Harrison for President, addressing more than sixty Whig meetings, in which he was introduced as the "Natick cobbler."

In that year and the next he was elected to the Massachusetts house of representatives, and then after a year's intermission served three annual terms in the state senate.

In 1845 he actively opposed the admission of Texas into the Union as a slave state and was a delegate to the Whig convention in 1848. He was chairman of the Free-soil state committee in 1849-'52. In 1850 he returned to the state senate, and in the following year was elected president of that body. He presided over the Free-soil National Convention at Pittsburg in 1852, and in the ensuing canvass acted as chairman of the national committee of the party. He was a can-

didate for congress in 1852, and failed of election by only ninety-three votes, although in his district the majority against the Free-soilers was more than 7,500.

In the same year he was defeated as the Free-soil candidate for governor. He acted with the American party in 1855, with the aid of which he was chosen to succeed Edward Everett in the United States Senate.

He took an active part in the formation of the Republican party with the programme of opposition to the extension of slavery.

On May 23, 1856, the morning after his colleague in the senate, Charles Sumner, was assaulted by Preston S. Brooks of South Carolina, Mr. Wilson denounced the act as "brutal, murderous and cowardly." For this language he was challenged to a duel by Brooks, but he declined on the ground that the practice of duelling was barbarous and unlawful, at the same time announcing that he believed in the right of self-defense.

Mr. Wilson served in the United States Senate with great honor and distinction until his inauguration as Vice-President.

#### NOTIFICATION OF PRESIDENT GRANT.

The committee appointed by the convention to notify President Grant and Senator Wilson of their nomination, met in Washington, June 10, and at half past one proceeded to the White House, where they were shown into the President's private parlor.

Hon. Thomas Settle, who presided over the convention, informed the President of his nomination and presented him with an official letter signed by the committee.

The President received the letter, and bowing, said:

"Well, gentlemen, at present I am not prepared to fully respond to your letter, but will do so soon."

After several brief speeches of a congratulatory nature were made by different members of the committee, the delegation withdrew.

Subsequently (on the same day), the President's letter was received, as follows:

PRESIDENT GRANT'S LETTER OF ACCEPTANCE.

EXECUTIVE MANSION,

WASHINGTON, D. C., June 10, 1872.

*Hon. Thomas Settle, President National Republican Convention, and others:*

GENTLEMEN: Your letter of this date, advising me of the action of the convention, held in Philadelphia, Pennsylvania, on the 5th and 6th of this month, and my unanimous nomination for the Presidency by it, is received.

I accept the nomination, and through you return my heartfelt thanks to your constituents for this mark of their confidence and support.

If elected in November and protected by a kind Providence in health and strength to perform the duties of the high trust conferred, I promise the same zeal and devotion to the good of the whole people for the future of my official life as shown in the past.

Past experience may guide me in avoiding mistakes inevitable with novices in all professions and in all occupations.

When relieved from the responsibilities of my present trust, by the election of a successor, whether it be at the end of this term or the next, I hope to leave to him, as Executive, a country at peace within its own borders, at peace with outside nations, with a credit at home and abroad, and without embarrassing questions to threaten its future prosperity.

With the expression of a desire to see a speedy healing of all bitterness of feeling between sections, parties, or races

of citizens, and the time when the title of citizen carries with it all the protection and privileges to the humblest that it does to the most exalted, I subscribe myself, very respectfully,

Your obedient servant,

U. S. GRANT.

Senator Wilson was also notified in Washington of his nomination for the Vice-Presidency and accepted the same in an impromptu reply, and later by an official letter.

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The campaign with Grant and Wilson, as the standard bearers of the party, was fought with great vigor. It was not known how great the disaffection in the party was and how many had joined the Liberal Republican movement, so there was some doubt of the result of the election until the October state elections, when Ohio, Pennsylvania and Indiana were carried by the Republicans. Mr. Greeley's stumping tour through the west could not stem the tide and Grant and Wilson carried every northern state with 286 electoral votes. The popular vote was:

Grant and Wilson—3,597,070.

Greeley and Brown—2,834,079.

Mr. Greeley's death occurred within a month following the election and President Grant, with the Vice-President, the chief justice of the United States and a great number of the leading public men of both parties, attended the funeral in New York and followed the hearse, preceded by the mayor of the city and other civic authorities, down Fifth avenue and Broadway. His body had lain in state in the City Hall and many thousands had moved through the building to see it.



The canvass preceding the election had been one of the most aggressive and exciting in the history of the country and abounded in personal attacks upon President Grant. He, in his inaugural on March 4, 1873, said in alluding to the personal abuse that had been aimed at him: "To-day I feel that I can disregard it, in view of your verdict, which I gratefully accept as my vindication."

**THE SIXTH  
REPUBLICAN NATIONAL  
CONVENTION**



RUTHERFORD B. HAYES

REPUBLICAN  
CANDIDATES

1876



WILLIAM A. WHEELER

THE SIXTH REPUBLICAN NATIONAL CONVENTION  
HELD AT CINCINNATI, OHIO, JUNE 14-16, 1876

*For President*—RUTHERFORD B. HAYES, of Ohio

*For Vice-President*—WILLIAM A. WHEELER, of New York

The sixth Republican National Convention assembled in Cincinnati in June, 1876.

President Grant's second term, beginning March 4, 1873, "was a continuation of the policy that had characterized his first. His foreign policy was steadfast, dignified and just, always exhibiting a conscientious regard for the rights of foreign nations and at the same time maintaining the rights of our own."

There was trouble in Louisiana, Arkansas and Texas, growing out of the reconstruction measures adopted by congress for those states, which was finally adjusted. The "Inflation bill," so called, passed by Congress in April, 1874, was vetoed by President Grant, after its approval by many of his warmest political supporters, who had made unusual efforts to convince him that it was financially and politically expedient. The bill failed

to pass over his veto. He, about two months later, wrote a letter to Senator Jones of Nevada in which he said, "I believe it a high and plain duty to return to a specie basis at the earliest practical day, not only in compliance with legislation and party pledges, but as a step indispensable to national, lasting prosperity." This letter was made public and attracted much attention, and in January, 1875, the "Resumption act" was passed by congress, which to a large extent embodied the views that had been suggested by the President. There were doubts in the minds of many as to the ability of the government to carry it into effect, but it proved entirely successful and the country was finally relieved from the stigma of circulating unredeemable paper currency.

During 1875 the President had reason to suspect that frauds were being practiced by government officials in certain states in collecting the revenue derived from the manufacture of whiskey. He at once took active measures for their detection, and the vigorous pursuit and punishment of the offenders. He issued a stringent order for their prosecution, closing with the famous words, "Let no guilty man escape." Many indictments soon followed, the ringleaders were sent to the penitentiary, and an honest collection of the revenue was secured. Some of the revenue officials were men of much political influence and had powerful friends.

The National Convention met on Wednesday, June 14, at Exposition Hall. This building was a large structure, having, as its name implies, been used for exposition purposes. In appearance it was somewhat like the Wigwam used in Chicago in 1860 (although the interior was arranged differently for the seating of delegates and spec-

tators), and was decorated with United States flags and bunting. It was located some distance from the center of the city and would probably seat between 10,000 and 12,000 people.

The headquarters of the Connecticut delegation were at the Grand Hotel, where rooms and parlors had been engaged in advance. The following composed the delegation:

#### AT LARGE.

Joseph R. Hawley, Hartford; Stephen W. Kellogg, Waterbury; Joseph Selden, Norwich; John T. Rockwell, Winsted.

#### DISTRICT.

First—Martin J. Sheldon, Suffield; Dwight Marcy, Rockville.

Second—H. Lynde Harrison, New Haven; John M. Douglas, Middletown.

Third—John A. Tibbits, New London; John M. Hall, Willimantic.

Fourth—Samuel Fessenden, Stamford; William B. Rudd, Lakeville (Salisbury).

General Hawley had been a delegate in 1864, 1868 and 1872, Mr. Kellogg in 1860 and 1868.

Mr. Marcy, Mr. Harrison, Mr. Tibbits, Mr. Hall, and Mr. Fessenden were prominent lawyers and had been active in Connecticut politics for several years, and all, later, were speakers of the house of representatives. This was Mr. Fessenden's first appearance in a national convention. He later attended those of 1880, 1884, 1888 and 1896.

Mr. Rockwell, Mr. Douglas and Mr. Rudd were prominent manufacturers.

Mr. Selden was active in state politics and was for several years chairman of the state committee.

I was a spectator at this convention and had an excellent seat at all the sessions.

THE TRIBUNE, as at Philadelphia, in 1872, was represented by Isaac H. Bromley. He was frequently at the Connecticut headquarters, where he always received a cordial welcome, and was himself very entertaining. He expressed an admiration for a hat I wore, so I told him I would send him one like it on my return home. I did so, and wrote him I hoped it would suit. In reply, headed "Tall Tower," New York, he said: "Does it suit? Why, it's the hat I've longed for and dreamed about, since first I wore a hat. It's the envy of all in the office, and if it had not been for your kind consideration in marking it 'keep dry,' I would have been bankrupted in wetting it. I thank you."

#### THE CONVENTION.

The convention was called to order by ex-Governor E. D. Morgan of New York, chairman of the national committee. Prayer was offered by Rev. D. H. Muller, D.D. Governor Morgan then made the opening address in which he briefly reviewed the history of the Republican party.

Theodore M. Pomeroy of New York was named for temporary chairman and was conducted to the chair by Governor Baldwin of Michigan and Governor Van Zandt of Rhode Island. His address was frequently applauded. Mr. Pomeroy was a prominent lawyer in Auburn, N. Y., for many years, was district attorney for his county, a member of the legislature, and a member

of congress for eight years (1861-1869) and was chosen speaker to fill the unexpired term of Mr. Colfax, who had been elected Vice-President.

The usual committees were then appointed. Those from Connecticut were as follows:

On Credentials—Joseph Selden.

On Rules and Order of Business—John T. Rockwell.

On Resolutions—Joseph R. Hawley.

On Permanent Organization—Samuel Fessenden.

Resolutions were received from the National German Republican Convention, recently held in Cincinnati, presented by Judge A. J. Dittenhoefer of New York, who had presided over the convention. They were referred to the committee on resolutions. George William Curtis of New York presented an address from the Republican Reform Club of the city of New York, which was read and also referred to the committee on resolutions. Calls were then made for various speakers, among whom was Senator Logan of Illinois, who responded in an able address, which was enthusiastically received. General Hawley was then called for and made an eloquent address which was received with great applause. He spoke chiefly upon the financial question, and said, among other things:

I hold that perhaps the first of our many duties is to bring back our currency to a sound basis, to a resumption of specie payments. And this not alone as a question of honor and integrity for the nation, but as an indispensable prerequisite to the restoration of business prosperity. . . . And I need not say that there is a profound anxiety throughout the whole Republican party that we shall give assurances to the country that all its affairs are to be administered with high honor and integrity; that the sacred trusts of office-holders are indeed

sacred trusts and not to be trifled with by bold, designing men . . . We have been uplifted, under the providence of God, during these fifteen years to see a new glory in the Constitution and a new glory in the flag . . . .

Ex-Governor Noyes of Ohio was then called for and responded in a brief address which aroused much enthusiasm. Rev. Henry Highland Garnett of New York, being called for, took the platform and made a short and eloquent address. Mr. Garnett, a colored clergyman, was born in slavery, but escaped and settled in New York city. He received a good education, studied theology and was licensed to preach. He was pastor of a church in New York for many years. President Arthur appointed him minister to Liberia, where he died in 1882.

William A. Howard of Michigan then addressed the convention and was followed by Frederick Douglass of New York. Both were warmly applauded.

The committee on permanent organization, through its chairman, George B. Loring of Massachusetts, made its report, naming Edward McPherson of Pennsylvania for president, and vice-presidents and secretaries for the different states. The report was adopted and the officers named declared elected. Mr. McPherson, a journalist, was a member of congress from 1859 to 1863. He later served ten years (1863 to 1873) as clerk of the house of representatives. In 1865 he published "The Political History of the United States During the Great Rebellion," and in 1870, "The Political History of the United States During Reconstruction." The vice-president for Connecticut was Martin J. Sheldon and the secretary John A. Tibbits.



Mr. McPherson was conducted to the chair by a committee consisting of William Orton of New York, W. G. Donnan of Iowa, and R. C. McCormick of Arizona. He made a brief address. The convention then adjourned until Thursday at 10 o'clock A. M.

On the reassembling of the convention on Thursday (the second day) prayer was offered by Rev. George B. Beecher. George F. Hoar, then a member of congress from Massachusetts, and later United States senator, presented a memorial of the National Woman's Suffrage Association, and moved that Mrs. Sarah J. Spencer, who had been deputed by the association for that purpose, be heard by the convention for ten minutes. The motion was agreed to. Mrs. Spencer was then introduced and presented the memorial with some preliminary remarks. The committee on rules and order of business then reported through its chairman, John Cessna of Pennsylvania.

There was a discussion upon the report, participated in by Eugene Hale of Maine, Stephen W. Kellogg of Connecticut, G. W. Hotchkiss of New York, ex-Governor Noyes and John Cessna, after which the report was adopted.

The committee on credentials, John T. Ensor of Maryland, chairman, then made its report.

The several states were represented, in part, by the following named prominent men:

Maine—Eugene Hale, William P. Frye, Nelson Dingley, Jr., and Charles A. Boutelle.

New Hampshire—Daniel Hall, George W. Marston and E. A. Straw.

Vermont—Luke P. Poland, Fred E. Woodbridge and John L. Mason.

Massachusetts—E. Rockwood Hoar, Richard H. Dana, Jr., John M. Forbes, Edward L. Pierce, George F. Hoar and George B. Loring.

Rhode Island—Charles C. Van Zandt, Nelson W. Aldrich and Henry Howard.

Connecticut—Joseph R. Hawley, Stephen W. Kellogg, Samuel Fessenden and Lynde Harrison.

New York—Alonzo B. Cornell, Theodore M. Pomeroy, George William Curtis, Stewart L. Woodford, Abiel A. Low, Edwin D. Morgan, William H. Robertson, Thomas C. Platt and John H. Ketcham.

New Jersey—William J. Sewall, George A. Halsey, Garrett A. Hobart, William A. Newall and John I. Blair.

Pennsylvania—J. Donald Cameron, Henry H. Bingham, Morton McMichael, Charles Albright, John Cessna, Edward McPherson, Matt. Quay, Henry M. Hoyt and C. L. Magee.

Ohio—Benjamin F. Wade, Edward F. Noyes, J. Warren Keifer, William H. Upson, Benjamin Eggleston and R. P. Buckland.

Indiana—Richard W. Thompson, William Cumback, James N. Tyner and Thomas M. Browne.

Illinois—Robert G. Ingersoll, Green D. Raum, Charles B. Farwell and F. W. Palmer.

Michigan—William A. Howard, H. P. Baldwin, E. S. Lacey and W. G. Thompson.

Wisconsin—Philetus Sawyer, David Atwood, Elisha W. Keyes and James H. Howe.

Minnesota—Alexander Ramsey, D. M. Sabin and J. B. Wakefield.

Iowa—James F. Wilson, Hiram Price, George D. Perkins and John Y. Stone.

Kansas—David P. Lowe, Cyrus Leland, Jr., and F. M. Shaw.

Nebraska—N. R. Pinney and R. G. Brown.

Nevada—John P. Jones and Frank Bell.

Missouri—R. T. Van Horn, Chauncey I. Filley, G. A. Finkleburg and James T. Smith.

Kentucky—John M. Halan, William Cassius Goodloe, James Speed and Robert Boyd.

Tennessee—J. T. Wilder, David A. Nunn, J. M. Thornburg and J. C. Napier.

Virginia—John F. Lewis, P. W. Poindexter and J. H. Rives.

North Carolina—Thomas Powers, James H. Harris and James Heaton.

South Carolina—Robert B. Elliott, Daniel H. Chamberlain and Robert Smalls.

In addition to the above many other states were prominently represented.

There were contests in Alabama, Florida and the District of Columbia, and a minority report was presented. After a lengthy discussion, participated in by Mr. Cessna, Mr. Kellogg, Mr. Tyner of Indiana, Mr. Ensor, Mr. Cumback of Indiana, Mr. Milliken of Maine and Mr. Pomeroy, the majority report was adopted, excepting in the case of Alabama, on which there was a call of the roll of states, which resulted in the acceptance of the majority report by a vote of 375 to 354, thus seating the delegation headed by Jeremiah Haralson instead of that of George E. Spencer. Connecticut voted 8 in favor of the minority report and 4 for the majority.

General Hawley, chairman of the committee on resolutions, then made the report of the committee. He said: "You must be aware that your committee on resolutions, upon assembling, found themselves constituted of men of somewhat different sentiments and widely separated localities, mostly strangers to each other. We have in general

agreed upon the statement we are about to present to you and respectfully submit it for your consideration, and for your amendment if you please." General Hawley then read the report. One of the resolutions was as follows: "It is the immediate duty of congress fully to investigate the effect of the immigration and importation of Mongolians on the moral and material interests of the country." Edward F. Pierce of Massachusetts moved to strike out the resolution and made a short speech in advocacy of his motion. He was followed by George William Curtis in favor of the motion and by S. B. Axtell of New Mexico, Senator Jones of Nevada, S. B. Dutcher of New York and J. B. Belford of Colorado in opposition. A call of the roll of states was demanded upon the motion and resulted as follows: To strike out the resolution, ayes 215, noes 532. Connecticut voted, ayes 5, noes 7. There was then a brief discussion upon the financial plank of the platform relating to the resumption of specie payments.

E. J. Davis of Texas offered a substitute for the resolution of the committee, claiming that resumption should take place before the date fixed by Congress, January 1, 1879, and spoke briefly upon the subject. He was followed by General Hawley, who said, in the course of his remarks: "I do not care for the details of resumption. I plant myself, not only upon high political, but upon a high moral duty to resume specie payments—to do so at the very earliest practicable moment, and when I say that, I mean it. It is necessary for us to bring paper to par with gold, for that is essential to commercial prosperity, public morals, and national credit."

The substitute of Mr. Davis was rejected and the plat-

form, as a whole, unanimously adopted with great applause and cheering.

#### THE PLATFORM.

When, in the economy of providence, this land was to be purged of human slavery, and when the strength of government of the people by the people for the people was to be demonstrated, the Republican party came into power. Its deeds have passed into history, and we look back to them with pride. Incited by their memories, and with high aims for the good of our country and mankind, and looking to the future with unflinching courage, hope, and purpose, we, the representatives of the party, in national convention assembled, make the following declaration of principles:

1. The United States of America is a nation, not a league. By the combined workings of the national and state governments, under their respective constitutions, the rights of every citizen are secured at home and protected abroad, and the common welfare promoted.

2. The Republican party has preserved these governments to the hundredth anniversary of the nation's birth, and they are now embodiments of the great truths spoken at its cradle that all men are created equal; that they are endowed by their Creator with certain inalienable rights, among which are life, liberty, and the pursuit of happiness; that for the attainment of these ends governments have been instituted among men, deriving their just powers from the consent of the governed. Until these truths are cheerfully obeyed, and, if need be, vigorously enforced, the work of the Republican party is unfinished.

3. The permanent pacification of the Southern section of the Union and the complete protection of all its citizens in the free enjoyment of all their rights, are duties to which the Republican party is sacredly pledged. The power to provide for the enforcement of the principles embodied in the recent constitutional amendments is vested by those amendments in the Congress of the United States; and we declare it to be the solemn obligation of the legislative and executive departments

of the government to put into immediate and vigorous exercise all their constitutional powers for removing any just causes of discontent on the part of any class, and securing to every American citizen complete liberty and exact equality in the exercise of all civil, political, and public rights. To this end we imperatively demand a congress and their chief executive whose courage and fidelity to these duties shall not falter until these results are placed beyond dispute and recall.

4. In the first act of congress, signed by President Grant, the national government assumed to remove any doubt of its purpose to discharge all the past obligations to public creditors, and solemnly pledged its faith "to make provision at the earliest practicable period for the redemption of the United States notes in coin." Commercial prosperity, public morals, and the national credit demand that this promise be fulfilled by a continuous and steady progress to specie payment.

5. Under the constitution, the President and heads of departments are to make nominations for office, the senate is to advise and consent to appointments, and the house of representatives is to accuse and prosecute faithless officers. The best interest of the public service demands that these distinctions be respected; that senators and representatives who may be judges and accusers should not dictate appointments to office. The invariable rule for appointments should have reference to the honesty, fidelity and capacity of appointees, giving to the party in power those places where harmony and vigor of administration require its policy to be represented, but permitting all others to be filled by persons selected with sole reference to the efficiency of the public service and the right of citizens to share in the honor of rendering faithful service to their country.

6. We rejoice in the quickened conscience of the people concerning political affairs. We will hold all public officers to a rigid responsibility, and engage that the prosecution and punishment of all who betray official trusts shall be speedy, thorough, and unsparing.

7. The public school system of the several states is the

bulwark of the American republic; and, with a view to its security and permanence, we recommend an amendment to the constitution of the United States, forbidding the application of any public funds or property for the benefit of any school or institution under sectarian control.

8. The revenue necessary for current expenditures and the obligations of the public debt must be largely derived from duties upon importations, which, so far as possible, should be so adjusted as to promote the interests of American labor and advance the prosperity of the whole country.

9. We reaffirm our opposition to further grants of the public lands to corporations and monopolies, and demand that the national domain be devoted to free homes for the people.

10. It is the imperative duty of the government so to modify existing treaties with European governments that the same protection shall be afforded to adopted American citizens that is given to native born, and all necessary laws be passed to protect immigrants in the absence of power in the states for that purpose.

11. It is the immediate duty of congress fully to investigate the effect of the immigration and importation of Mongolians on the moral and material interest of the country.

12. The Republican party recognizes with approval the substantial advances recently made toward the establishment of equal rights for women, by the many important amendments effected by Republican legislatures in the laws which concern the personal and property relations of wives, mothers, and widows, and by the appointment and election of women to the superintendence of education, charities, and other public trusts. The honest demands of this class of citizens for additional rights, privileges, and immunities should be treated with respectful consideration.

13. The constitution confers upon congress sovereign power over the territories of the United States for their government. And in the exercise of this power it is the right and duty of congress to prohibit and extirpate in the territories that relic of barbarism, polygamy; and we demand such

legislation as will secure this end, and the supremacy of American institutions in all the territories.

14. The pledges which our nation has given to our soldiers and sailors must be fulfilled. The grateful people will always hold those who perilled their lives for the country's preservation in the kindest remembrance.

15. We sincerely deprecate all sectional feeling and tendencies. We therefore note with deep solicitude that the Democratic party counts, as its chief hope of success, upon the electoral vote of a united South, secured through the efforts of those who were recently arrayed against the nation; and we invoke the earnest attention of the country to the grave truth, that a success thus achieved would reopen sectional strife, and imperil national honor and human rights.

16. We charge the Democratic party with being the same in character and spirit as when it sympathized with treason; with making its control of the house of representatives the triumph and opportunity of the nation's recent foes; with reasserting and applauding in the national capitol the sentiments of unrepentant rebellion; with sending Union soldiers to the rear, and promoting Confederate soldiers to the front; with deliberately proposing to repudiate the plighted faith of the government; with being equally false and imbecile upon the overshadowing financial questions; with thwarting the ends of justice, by its partisan mismanagement and obstruction of investigation; with proving itself, through the period of its ascendancy in the lower house of congress, utterly incompetent to administer the government; and we warn the country against trusting a party thus alike unworthy, recreant and incapable.

17. The national administration merits commendation for its honorable work in the management of domestic and foreign affairs; and President Grant deserves the continued hearty gratitude of the American people, for his patriotism and his eminent services in war and in peace.

Respectfully submitted, on behalf of the committee.

JOSEPH R. HAWLEY, *Chairman.*

CHARLES E. SMITH, *Secretary.*



Mr. Hale then moved that the convention proceed to nominate a candidate for President of the United States, which motion was carried.

James G. Blaine was the leading candidate, and the other prominent ones were Benjamin H. Bristow, Roscoe Conkling, Oliver P. Morton and Rutherford B. Hayes.

Mr. Blaine was then serving his seventh term in the house of representatives, having been first elected in 1862. He was chosen speaker in 1869 and served by successive re-elections for six years.

Mr. Bristow was then secretary of the treasury. He was a native of Kentucky and served with distinction during the Civil War on the Union side. Later he was United States district attorney for the Louisville district, and afterward, in 1870, solicitor-general of the United States.

Mr. Conkling was then a United States senator from New York, having been first elected in 1867 and re-elected in 1873. He had previously served several terms in the house of representatives.

Mr. Morton was then a United States senator from Indiana, having been first elected in 1867 and re-elected in 1873. He had been elected lieutenant-governor in 1860 on the ticket with Henry S. Lane. Mr. Lane resigned as governor in January, 1861, to become United States senator, and Mr. Morton became governor. He was re-elected in 1864, but resigned in 1867, having been elected United States senator.

Mr. Hayes was then governor of Ohio, and had served with great distinction during the Civil War. In March, 1865, he received the rank of brevet major-general "for gallant and distinguished services during the campaign

of 1864 in West Virginia and particularly at the battles of Fisher's Hill and Cedar Creek, Va.'" Mr. Hayes served two terms in Congress immediately after the war, and later defeated Allen G. Thurman, George H. Pendleton and William Allen for the governorship.

A great contest for the nomination had been going on for many months throughout the country, and on the arrival of the delegates in Cincinnati it was fought with great vigor and amid not a little excitement. It was the field against Blaine, and, while both sides were apparently confident, no one could accurately predict the result. There was great excitement in the convention when the time arrived for the nomination. The call of the states began for the presentation of names of candidates.

When Connecticut was reached Mr. Kellogg arose, and being invited to the platform, made an eloquent speech in which he presented the name of Marshall Jewell. He spoke of Governor Jewell in the highest terms—of the different positions he had so ably filled, that of governor of Connecticut, minister to Russia and postmaster general. He said: "We elected him governor for three terms. He was then sent as minister to Russia. He was recalled to become postmaster general in President Grant's cabinet, and during the past two years while in that position, you men of the West know that you never had before a man in that position who has inaugurated reform, who has done so much to bring speedy intelligence to your doors every day and hour, as he who now holds that office." Governor Jewell's name was received with great applause.

When the State of Indiana was called Richard W. Thompson of that state ascended the platform and pre-

sented the name of Oliver P. Morton, the "war governor" of Indiana, and later United States senator. The nomination was received with great enthusiasm and was seconded by P. B. S. Pinchback of Louisiana.

John M. Harlan of Kentucky (now on the United States supreme court bench) presented the name of Benjamin H. Bristow of Kentucky, which nomination was seconded by Luke P. Poland of Vermont, George William Curtis, and Richard H. Dana of Massachusetts in eloquent addresses. Great cheering followed.

When the state of Illinois was called, Robert G. Ingersoll of that state was introduced and presented the name of James G. Blaine, amid tremendous applause and cheering. Mr. Ingersoll at this time was not well known outside of Illinois, where he had resided since he was ten years of age. He was a Democrat until 1864, when he united with the Republican party. In 1866 he was appointed attorney-general for Illinois. His speech aroused the convention to the highest pitch of enthusiasm. It was eloquent, earnest and delivered with great force. He spoke in part as follows:

Massachusetts may be satisfied with the loyalty of Benjamin H. Bristow. So am I. But, if any man nominated by this convention cannot carry the state of Massachusetts, I am not satisfied with the loyalty of Massachusetts. If the nominee of this convention cannot carry the grand old commonwealth by 75,000 majority, I would advise them to sell out Faneuil Hall for a Democratic headquarters. I would advise them to take from Bunker Hill their monument of glory.

The Republicans of the United States demand as their leader in the great contest of 1876 a man of intelligence, a man of integrity, a man of well-known and approved political opinions. They demand a statesman. They demand a

reformer after as well as before the election. They demand a politician in the highest sense of the word. They demand a man acquainted with public affairs, with the wants of the people, with the requirements of the hour not only, but with the demands of the future. They demand a man broad enough to comprehend the relation of this government to the other nations of the earth. They demand a man well versed in his powers, duties, and prerogatives of each and every department of this government. . . . The Republicans of the United States demand a man who knows that prosperity and resumption, when they come, must come together; when they come they will come hand in hand through the golden harvest fields; hand in hand by the whirling spindles and the turning wheels; hand in hand past the open furnace doors; hand in hand by the flaming forges; hand in hand by the chimneys filled with eager fire, raked and grasped by the hands of the countless sons of toil. . . . They demand a man whose political reputation is spotless as a star; but they do not demand that their candidate shall have a certificate of moral character signed by the Confederate congress.

The man who has, in full, complete and rounded measure, all of these splendid qualifications is the present grand and gallant leader of the Republican party, James G. Blaine.

Our country, crowned by the vast and marvellous achievements of its first century, asks for a man worthy of her past and prophetic of her future; asks for a man who has the audacity of a genius; asks for a man who has the grandest combination of health, conscience, and brain the world ever saw. That man is James G. Blaine.

For the Republican hosts, led by this intrepid man, there can be no such thing as defeat.

This is a grand year,—a year filled with the recollections of the Revolution; filled with proud and tender memories of the sacred past; filled with legends of liberty;—a year in which the sons of freedom will drink from the fountain of enthusiasm; a year in which the people will call for the man who has preserved in congress what their soldiers won upon the

field; a year in which they call for the man who has torn from the throat of treason the tongue of slander; the man who has snatched the mask of Democracy from the hideous face of the rebellion; the man who, like the intellectual athlete hath stood in the arena of debate challenging all comers, and who up to the present moment is a total stranger to defeat.

Like an armed warrior, like a plumed knight, James G. Blaine marched down the halls of the American Congress and threw his shining lance full and fair against the brazen forehead of every traitor to his country and every maligner of his fair reputation . . . . .

Gentlemen of the convention: In the name of the great republic, the only republic that ever existed upon the face of the earth; in the name of all her defenders and all her supporters; in the name of all her soldiers, living; in the name of her soldiers that died upon the field of battle; and in the name of those that perished in the skeleton clutch of famine at Andersonville and Libby, whose sufferings he so vividly remembers,—Illinois—Illinois nominates for the next President of this country that prince of parliamentarians, that leader of leaders, James G. Blaine.

There was a great demonstration of cheering when Mr. Ingersoll finished his speech. He was followed by William P. Frye of Maine and by Henry M. Turner, a colored delegate of Georgia, in favor of Mr. Blaine.

When New York was called, Stewart L. Woodford of that state spoke with great eloquence in behalf of the nomination of Roscoe Conkling.

Ohio being called, ex-Governor Noyes presented the name of Rutherford B. Hayes, whose nomination was received with loud cheering. The nomination was seconded by Benjamin F. Wade of Ohio, Mr. St. Gem of Missouri and J. W. Davis of West Virginia. Linn Bartholomew of Pennsylvania presented the name of John F. Hartranft, then governor of that state. It was

announced that the hall could not be lighted for an evening session, so the convention adjourned until Friday at 10 o'clock A. M.

On the reassembling of the convention on Friday (the third day) prayer was offered by Rev. Mr. Morgan.

Balloting for a candidate for President then began amid great excitement and confusion. The first ballot resulted as follows:

Total number of votes cast .....	754
Necessary to a choice .....	378
Blaine .....	285
Morton .....	124
Conkling .....	99
Bristow .....	113
Hayes .....	61
Hartranft .....	58
Jewell .....	11
William A. Wheeler .....	3
	<hr/>
	754

During the progress of the second ballot a delegate from Pennsylvania questioned the vote of that state as announced by the chairman of the delegation (58 for Hartranft) claiming that two of the delegates had voted for Blaine, and demanded that their votes be cast for him. Two other delegates from Pennsylvania made similar requests. The chair ruled that their votes should be announced as they were cast. Then there ensued a long discussion in which many prominent delegates took part. It involved the so-called "unit rule" which was finally voted down and the ruling of the chair sustained

by a vote of 395 to 353. Connecticut voted 3 in the affirmative and 9 in the negative.

The roll of states was then called for the second ballot, which, with succeeding ballots resulted as follows:

	2d	3d	4th	5th	6th	7th
Blaine .....	296	293	292	286	308	351
Morton .....	120	113	108	95	85	...
Conkling .....	93	90	84	82	81	...
Bristow .....	114	121	126	114	111	21
Hayes .....	64	67	68	104	113	384
Hartranft .....	63	68	71	69	50	...
Wheeler .....	3	2	2	2	2	...
Elihu B. Washburne .....	1	1	3	3	4	...
	754	755	754	755	754	756

On the fifth ballot, Michigan's vote, which had been divided on previous ballots, was cast for Hayes (22 in all).

After the sixth ballot several attempts were made for a recess in order that the different delegates might hold consultations, but they were unsuccessful. There was intense excitement and great confusion in the convention. When Indiana was called on the seventh ballot, Mr. Cumback ascended the platform and in a brief speech withdrew Senator Morton's name and cast 25 votes for Hayes and 5 for Bristow, and later cast the latter for Hayes. Kentucky was called and Mr. Harlan arose and withdrew Mr. Bristow's name and cast the entire vote of that state (34) for Hayes.

When New York was called, Mr. Pomeroy changed the vote of that state to 61 for Hayes and 9 for Blaine. Pennsylvania withdrew Hartranft's name and voted 28 for Hayes and 30 for Blaine. The president then

declared Rutherford B. Hayes the nominee of the convention for President of the United States. There was a great demonstration of applause and cheering upon this announcement, which lasted for several minutes.

Mr. Frye moved in a short speech, to make the nomination unanimous, pledging the hearty support of Mr. Blaine for the nominee.

Connecticut voted on the different ballots as follows:

	Jewell	Blaine	Bristow	Hayes
First .....	10	..	2	..
Second .....	..	2	9	1
Third .....	..	2	8	2
Fourth .....	..	2	9	1
Fifth .....	..	2	8	2
Sixth .....	..	2	7	3
Seventh .....	..	2	7	3

Mr. Fessenden was one of those who labored untiringly in his efforts to secure Blaine's nomination. The nomination of a candidate for Vice-President was then in order. Mr. Poland nominated William A. Wheeler of New York. Thomas C. Platt of New York nominated Stewart L. Woodford. John M. Harlan nominated Joseph R. Hawley. H. C. Pitney of New Jersey nominated Frederick T. Frelinghuysen and S. H. Russell of Texas nominated Marshall Jewell. The different nominations were seconded. Mr. Woodford withdrew his name. The balloting then began. The large number of votes cast for Mr. Wheeler plainly indicated that he was the choice of the convention, and after the vote of South Carolina, which made 366 votes for Mr. Wheeler, Mr. Kellogg withdrew the name of Marshall Jewell and moved that the rules be suspended and that William A.



Wheeler be nominated by acclamation. The motion was carried and Mr. Wheeler declared the nominee of the convention as a candidate for Vice-President, amid great cheering. A vote of thanks was passed to the president and other officers of the convention and to the citizens of Cincinnati for their hospitality and kindness.

Benjamin Eggleston of Cincinnati then returned thanks to the convention on behalf of the Republicans of Ohio for the nomination of Governor Hayes as the candidate for President.

Members of the national committee were then announced. Connecticut named Marshall Jewell. The committee at a meeting held after the convention adjourned, elected Zachariah Chandler of Michigan, chairman, and R. C. McCormick of Arizona, secretary. The following dispatch was then read:

*To Hon. Eugene Hale:*

I hope you will find it convenient to stop at Columbus and bear my congratulations and sincere personal respects and regards to Governor Hayes.

JAMES G. BLAINE.

A committee of one from each state was then appointed to wait on the candidates and give them formal notice of their nomination. General Hawley was named for Connecticut.

The convention then came to a close.

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#### RUTHERFORD B. HAYES.

Rutherford B. Hayes was born in Delaware, Ohio, October 4, 1822. His father had died in July, 1822, leaving his mother in modest, but easy, circumstances. The boy received his first education in the common schools, and began early

the study of Latin and Greek with Judge Sherman Finch of Delaware. Then he was sent to an academy of Norwalk, Ohio, and in 1837 to Isaac Webb's school at Middletown, Conn., to prepare for college. In the autumn of 1838 he entered Kenyon college, at Gambier, Ohio, where he became the valedictorian of his class. Soon afterward he began the study of law and entered the law school at Harvard in 1843, finishing there in January, 1845. In the following May he was admitted to practice in the courts of Ohio.

He established himself at Lower Sandusky (now Fremont) in 1846, and in 1850 removed to Cincinnati. He won the respect of the profession there and attracted the attention of the public as attorney in several criminal cases which gained some celebrity, and gradually increased his practice. In 1859 he was elected city solicitor of Cincinnati. Mr. Hayes, ever since he was a voter, had acted with the Whig party, voting for Henry Clay in 1844, for General Taylor in 1848, and for General Scott in 1852.

He joined the Republican party as soon as it was organized, and earnestly advocated the election of Fremont in 1856 and of Abraham Lincoln in 1860.

After the fall of Fort Sumter in April, 1861, his literary club in Cincinnati formed a military company, of which he was elected captain, and this club subsequently furnished to the national army more than forty officers, of whom several became generals. Captain Hayes, in October, 1862, was appointed colonel of his regiment.

He took part in many engagements during the war; became brigadier-general in October, 1864, and in March, 1865, he received the rank of brevet major-general "for gallant and distinguished services during the campaign of 1864 in West Virginia, and particularly at the battles of Fisher's Hill and Cedar Creek, Virginia."

Of his military services, General Grant, in his memoirs, says: "On more than one occasion in these engagements General R. B. Hayes, who succeeded me as President of the United States, bore a very honorable part. His conduct in the field was marked by conspicuous gallantry, as well as the

display of qualities of a higher order than mere personal daring."

General Hayes was elected to congress in October, 1864, while yet in the army, and took his seat in December, 1865. He was re-elected in 1866. In 1867 he was elected Governor of Ohio, defeating Judge Allen G. Thurman. He was re-elected in 1869 over George H. Pendleton.

In 1872 he was defeated for congress, but in 1875 was nominated again for Governor and elected over William Allen, Democrat (who was then governor), and held that office at the time of his nomination for the presidency.

#### WILLIAM A. WHEELER.

William A. Wheeler was born in Malone, Franklin County, New York, June 30, 1819.

He studied at the University of Vermont and later began the study of law and was admitted to the bar in 1845. He became United States District Attorney of Franklin County, which post he held till 1849. He was a member of the Whig party, by which he was chosen to the assembly in 1849. He supported Fremont in 1856 and was always loyal to the Republican party. He was chosen to congress in 1860 and served one term. He returned to congress in 1869 and served continuously till 1877.

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Benjamin H. Bristow, secretary of the treasury in President Grant's cabinet, resigned soon after the adjournment of the convention, and Governor Jewell a few weeks later also resigned as postmaster general. They had been looked upon particularly as the "reform" members of the cabinet and both had rendered great service to the country—the former in the whiskey ring and the latter in the star route prosecutions. The policy adopted by Governor Jewell as postmaster general had

brought him into antagonism with certain elements in both parties that led to the star route trials, and many wholesome reforms in the postal system. Governor Jewell on his return to his home in Hartford was heartily welcomed by the people there in a great public demonstration. A year or two later, while conversing with Governor Jewell, he referred to a conversation he had with Mr. A. J. Drexel of Philadelphia, in which the latter told him that General Grant, while his guest on the eve of his departure for his trip around the world, had said to him (while reviewing the principal events of his two administrations), that the one he regretted the most of all was that he should have allowed him (Governor Jewell) to retire from his cabinet.

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The campaign and election that followed the nomination of Governor Hayes will long be remembered. In his letter of acceptance he laid especial stress upon three points, civil service reform, the currency and the pacification of the South.

The Democrats nominated Samuel J. Tilden, who had as governor of New York won the reputation of a reformer and attracted the support of many Republicans who were dissatisfied with their party. The result of the election became the subject of acrimonious dispute. There were contests in Louisiana, South Carolina and Florida. The canvassing boards of those states declared the Republican electors chosen, which gave Mr. Hayes a majority of one vote in the electoral college. The contest was taken to congress (the senate having a Republican and the house of representatives a Democratic majority).

An electoral commission was finally appointed, which after a hearing lasting many weeks, decided by a majority of one in favor of the Republican electors in those states, and on March 2, 1877, Rutherford B. Hayes was declared duly elected President of the United States and was inaugurated on March 4 to succeed Ulysses S. Grant.

**THE SEVENTH  
REPUBLICAN NATIONAL  
CONVENTION**



JAMES A. GARFIELD

REPUBLICAN  
CANDIDATES

1880



CHESTER A. ARTHUR

THE  
SEVENTH REPUBLICAN NATIONAL CONVENTION  
HELD AT CHICAGO, ILL., JUNE 2-8. 1880

*For President*—JAMES A. GARFIELD, of Ohio

*For Vice-President*—CHESTER A. ARTHUR, of New York

The seventh Republican National Convention assembled in Chicago in June, 1880. Rutherford B. Hayes had been inaugurated as President March 5, 1877 (the 4th coming on Sunday). In his inaugural address he substantially restated the principles and views of policy set forth in his letter of acceptance. His cabinet was composed of some of the ablest and most prominent men in the Republican party, including William M. Evarts of New York, John Sherman of Ohio and Carl Schurz of Missouri. His course toward the South was conciliatory and resulted in establishing peace in South Carolina and Louisiana, where there were rival state governments. A commission was sent to the latter state composed of eminent men of both parties, including General Hawley, John M. Harlan of Kentucky (later appointed by President Hayes a justice of the United

States supreme court) and Wayne McVeagh of Pennsylvania—often referred to as “visiting statesmen.” Their mission was a successful one.

The administration of President Hayes, although attacked by politicians of both parties, was on the whole very satisfactory to the people at large. By withdrawing the federal troops from the southern state houses, and restoring to the people of those states practical self-government, it prepared the way for that revival of patriotism among those lately estranged from the Union; that fraternal feeling between the two sections of the country, and the wonderful material advancement of the South. It conducted with wisdom and firmness the preparations for the resumption of specie payments, as well as the funding of the public debt at lower rates of interest, and thus facilitated the development of the remarkable business prosperity that continued to its close. While in its endeavors to effect a thorough and permanent reform of the civil service there were conspicuous lapses and inconsistencies, it accomplished important and lasting results.

More than three years of President Hayes's term had passed when the national convention met to choose the candidate who, if elected, would be his successor. There had developed throughout the country a great interest in the question as to who the candidate should be, and there were contests in many states over the choice of delegates to the convention.

James G. Blaine, defeated in the convention at Cincinnati in 1876, was again in the field, supported by a host of Republicans who loved, and almost idolized him, and who fondly hoped that their efforts at this time in his behalf would be crowned with success.

Ohio had put forward John Sherman, well known and admired as congressman, United States senator and sec-



retary of the treasury; in all of which positions he had shown great ability and wise statesmanship.

The names of George F. Edmunds, United States senator from Vermont and Elihu B. Washburne, former congressman from Illinois (for a short time secretary of state in President Grant's first cabinet, and from there appointed minister to France, where during the Franco-German war he rendered great service to those of German nationality)—were also mentioned and had warm supporters.

These were all eminent men. But General Grant had just completed his memorable tour around the world, where he had been received not only by the people of every country with great demonstrations of respect and regard, but also by royalty itself, tributes that he deserved, and which struck a responsive chord in the hearts of the people of this country. He had sailed from Philadelphia, with his wife and son, on May 17, 1877, his departure being the occasion of a memorable demonstration on the Delaware river; and on his return reached San Francisco on September 20, 1879.

"Preparations had been made there for a reception that should surpass any ever accorded to a public man in that part of the country, and the demonstrations in the harbor of San Francisco on his arrival formed a pageant equal to anything of the kind in modern times. On his journey East he was tendered banquets and public receptions, and greeted with every manifestation of welcome in the different cities at which he stopped. Early in 1880, he traveled through some of the Southern states and visited Cuba and Mexico. In the latter country he was hailed as its staunchest and most pronounced friend in

the days of its struggle against foreign usurpation and the people testified their gratitude by extending to him every possible act of personal and official courtesy. On his return he took his family to his old home in Galena, Ill. A popular movement had begun, looking to his re-nomination for the Presidency, and overtures were made to him to draw him into an active canvass for the purpose of accomplishing this result, but he declined to take any part in the movement, and preferred that the nomination should either come to him unsolicited, or not at all."

But he had warm and active supporters in nearly every state in the Union, and the NEW YORK TIMES strongly favored his nomination and rendered very effective service in his behalf. When his nomination was opposed on the ground that his candidacy would revive the "third term" issue, it was said in his behalf, that the argument should have no force, for one term (that of President Hayes) would have intervened.

With Blaine and Grant as the principal candidates, the contest for a majority of the delegates to the convention was waged with intense earnestness in every part of the country, and, when the time arrived for the convention to meet, the result was exceedingly doubtful. It was thought possible that there would be a long contest and that the balance of power might be held by Sherman, Edmunds and Washburne for many ballots, and finally a "dark horse" chosen, rather than either of the leading candidates. For several days prior to the meeting of the convention the hotels in Chicago were crowded with delegates and visitors, and the lobbies packed with people excitedly discussing the contest. Many of the most

prominent Republicans in the country were delegates, including:

Roscoe Conkling, Levi P. Morton, Chester A. Arthur, Benjamin F. Tracy, Edwards Pierrepont, Thomas C. Platt, Steward L. Woodford, William H. Robertson, James W. Husted, Henry R. Pierson and George H. Sharpe of New York; James A. Garfield, William Dennison, Charles Foster and Benjamin Butterworth of Ohio; Matthew S. Quay, Christopher L. Magee, J. Donald Cameron, John Cessna and James A. Beaver of Pennsylvania; John A. Logan, Emory A. Storrs and Green B. Raum of Illinois; Benjamin Harrison of Indiana (not a United States senator until March 4 following), D. B. Henderson and J. S. Clarkson of Iowa; Eugene Hale, William P. Frye and Joseph H. Manley of Maine; George F. Hoar, Julius H. Seeleye, Henry Cabot Lodge and George S. Boutwell of Massachusetts. Henry C. Robinson, Augustus Brandegee and Samuel Fessenden of Connecticut; William J. Sewall, William Walter Phelps, Judson Kilpatrick and George A. Halsey of New Jersey; Walter Evans and William O. Bradley of Kentucky; John A. J. Cresswell, James A. Gary and Lloyd Lowndes of Maryland; Omar D. Conger and James F. Joy of Michigan; Creed Haymond and F. M. Pixley of California; P. B. Plumb of Kansas; D. M. Sabin of Minnesota; Blanche K. Bruce of Mississippi; William E. Chandler of New Hampshire; J. B. Cassoday, G. Van Steenwyk and Philetus Sawyer of Wisconsin; John Gregory Smith, Frederick Billings, John W. Stewart and George W. Hooker of Vermont; A. W. Campbell and S. P. McCormick of West Virginia.

The Connecticut delegation had headquarters at the Grand Pacific Hotel.

The following were the delegates and alternates:

AT LARGE.

Henry C. Robinson, Hartford; alternate, Martin Bennett, Hartford. John M. Douglas, Middletown; alternate, George M. Harmon, New Haven. Augustus Brandegee, New London; alternate, Robert Coit, New London. Samuel Fessenden, Stamford; alternate, Frederick Miles, Salisbury.

DISTRICT.

First—Andrew S. Upson, Farmington; alternate, S. P. Newell, Bristol. William M. Corbin, Union; alternate, E. A. Converse, Stafford.

Second—Hobart B. Bigelow, New Haven; alternate, H. Lynde Harrison, Guilford. William C. Hough, Essex; alternate, A. M. Wright, Essex.

Third—Daniel Chadwick, Lyme; alternate, Stiles T. Stanton, Stonington. Jeremiah Olney, Thompson; alternate, Alexander Warner, Pomfret.

Fourth—Edgar S. Tweedy, Danbury; alternate, A. H. Byington, Norwalk. N. Taylor Baldwin, Plymouth; alternate, A. P. Bradstreet, Thomaston.

The following had been delegates to previous conventions: John M. Douglas in 1876, Augustus Brandegee in 1856 and 1864, Samuel Fessenden in 1876, Daniel Chadwick in 1872, Edgar S. Tweedy in 1856 and 1860. The delegates at large were all well known in Connecticut politics, as were, also, many of the district delegates.

Augustus Brandegee (father of United States Senator Frank B. Brandegee) had been speaker of the house of representatives and a member of congress.

Henry C. Robinson, at one time mayor of Hartford and a candidate for governor.

Hobart B. Bigelow was then mayor of New Haven and was elected governor the following November.

Jeremiah Olney was for many years commissioner of the school fund.

William C. Hough was a senator from the Essex district.

Governor Jewell, a member of the national committee, was present, and one of the prominent and most noticeable men in the convention.

Exhibition Hall, in which the convention met, was a very large building and was said to seat about 15,000 people. It stood near the shore of the lake, not far from the present Auditorium Hotel. It was later used for other conventions. Blaine was nominated there in 1884 and Cleveland also. The building was soon after taken down. There were galleries on the sides and one end of the building. The platform, at the other end, was very large, and would seat several hundred people. It was reserved for invited guests, including many ladies. A large part of the main floor was reserved for delegates and alternates, the latter sitting just back of the delegates. A railing with two or three gates divided the delegates and alternates, and the entrances from the street were side by side. By invitation, I sat with the Connecticut delegation. Their seats were in a good location, not far from the platform. The New York, Ohio, Illinois and Indiana delegations were seated near the center. The hall was handsomely decorated with American flags, and brass bands furnished music at all the sessions.

The convention met on Wednesday, June 2, at 12 o'clock noon, and was called to order by J. Donald

Cameron, chairman of the national committee. Prayer was offered by Rev. Dr. Kittredge. The call was read by Thomas B. Keogh, secretary of the national committee. The chairman made the opening address, and then placed in nomination for temporary chairman Hon. George F. Hoar.

It was reported that there had been a contest in the committee between the Blaine and Grant men over the temporary chairmanship, each side desiring one of its supporters for the position, but they finally agreed upon Senator Hoar, who was an Edmunds man.

Senator Hoar's nomination was unanimously agreed to, and ex-Governor E. J. Davis of Texas, William P. Frye and Green B. Raum were appointed a committee to conduct him to the chair. He made an able address, in the course of which he said:

It is twenty years since the Republican convention met in this city, and after a stormy but friendly contest, put in nomination Abraham Lincoln and Hannibal Hamlin. Lincoln has gone to his rest. His companion on the ticket, in fresh and vigorous age, is present with us today, to give counsel from the stores of an experience gathered from a life of honorable public service.

He then briefly reviewed the history of the Republican party and showed that it had, in every effort made for the benefit of the country, been opposed by the Democratic party.

The usual committees were then named by the different states and territories. Those from Connecticut were:

On Credentials—Samuel Fessenden.

On Permanent Organization—John M. Douglas.

On Rules and Order of Business—Daniel Chadwick.

On Resolutions—Henry C. Robinson.

General Logan offered a resolution that 500 tickets of admission be furnished each day to the chairman of the Veteran Soldiers' Association for distribution among the veteran Union soldiers. General Kilpatrick seconded the resolution and it was unanimously adopted. The convention then adjourned until Thursday at 11 o'clock A. M.

The session of Thursday (the second day) was opened with prayer by Rev. Dr. Noble. The committee on credentials not being ready to report, Mr. Conkling moved that a recess be taken until 6 P. M. Mr. Hale opposed the motion on the ground that the committees on permanent organization and rules would probably be ready to report soon. After a somewhat sharp and sarcastic discussion between Mr. Conkling and Mr. Hale, the motion was not agreed to. The committee on permanent organization then reported.

Senator Hoar was named for president, and vice-presidents and secretaries were named from each state. The vice-president from Connecticut was Jeremiah Olney and the secretary, N. Taylor Baldwin. The report was adopted.

Senator Hoar was again presented to the convention by Mr. Pierson of New York. The temporary presiding officer was received with loud applause, and spoke very briefly. The committee on rules (General Garfield, chairman), was not ready to report, and as it had been agreed that their report should be presented after that of the committee on credentials, the convention took a recess until 5:30 P. M.

The convention met again at that hour. Mr. Hender-

son stated that he understood the credentials committee would not be able to report during that session of the convention and therefore moved that the committee on rules be now requested to make their report. The motion was opposed by General Logan and there was a lengthy discussion between him and Mr. Henderson, in which ex-Governor Boutwell and Benjamin Harrison took part, as did also Mr. Conkling, Mr. Sharpe of New York, and General Garfield.

Mr. Sharpe had moved as a substitute for Mr. Henderson's motion that the committee on credentials be now directed to report, and the question was on the adoption of the substitute.

A call of the roll of states was ordered and resulted: Ayes 318, nays 406, so the substitute was not agreed to. Connecticut voted 12 no. There was much excitement during the taking of this vote, and the vote of several states was questioned and the delegations polled, which resulted in a few changes being made. This was considered somewhat of a test vote between the Grant and anti-Grant forces, which the balloting for candidates later proved to be the case. The president announced that the substitute was rejected and that the question recurred on the original motion.

Mr. Brandegee here arose and "in the interest of order, harmony and peace," moved that the motion be laid on the table. In the course of his remarks he said:

I have listened with interest and delight to the champions and the giants, who have engaged in the preliminary skirmishes here. I am no champion, and I have no "boom," sir, to engineer through this convention. We have no candidate in Connecticut that we are attempting to put upon this conven-



tion, but we are waiting for the hour when the clock shall strike and the convention shall name its man; and that man, we believe, will be elected, if wisdom and harmony and courtesy prevail here, and not otherwise.

Mr. Brandegee's remarks were loudly applauded and his motion agreed to. The convention then adjourned until Friday at 10 A. M.

On the reassembling of the convention on Friday (the third day) prayer was offered by Rev. Mr. Little.

Mr. Conkling offered the following resolution:

*Resolved*, As the sense of this convention, that every member of it is bound in honor to support its nominee, whoever that nominee may be; and that no man should hold a seat here who is not ready to so agree.

Mr. Hale and Mr. Brandegee both favored the resolution in brief remarks, the latter calling for the roll of states on the vote. A call for the roll was agreed to and the resolution passed, ayes 716, nays 3. The three in the negative were from West Virginia. Mr. Conkling then offered the following resolution:

*Resolved*, That the delegates who have voted that they will not abide the action of the convention do not deserve, and have forfeited their votes in this convention.

This resolution gave rise to a heated discussion, in which Mr. Campbell, Mr. Moore and Mr. McCormick, all of West Virginia, and Mr. Brandegee, Mr. Conkling and General Garfield took part.

Mr. Campbell, one of the three who had voted in the negative, said in the course of his remarks:

*Mr. President:*

I have been a Republican in the State of Virginia from my youth. For twenty-three years I have published a Republican newspaper in that state. I have supported every Presidential Republican nominee in that time. I expect to support the nominee of this convention. But, sir, as a Republican, I imbibed my principles from the great statesman from New York, William H. Seward, with whom I had an early acquaintance by virtue of my having gone to school with him near the city of Utica, from which the gentleman from New York (Mr. Conkling) now hails. I was a Republican then, and I made the acquaintance of that distinguished gentleman. I came home, and in my youth I became a newspaper editor. From that day to this—from the John Brown raid in Harper's Ferry all through the troubles of the last twenty-five years, I have consistently and always supported our state and national Republican nominees. But, Mr. President, I feel, as a Republican, that there is a principle in this question, and I will never come into any convention and agree beforehand that whatever may be done by that convention it shall have my endorsement. Sir, as a free man, whom God made free, I always intend to carry my sovereignty under my own hat. I never intend that any body of men shall take it from me.

Mr. Campbell's remarks were greeted with loud cheering. Mr. Moore (Mr. Campbell's colleague), who had voted in the affirmative, said, in part:

Although I differ with my brother (Mr. Campbell), yet I do insist and demand upon his part, as one of the delegates from West Virginia, the right to utter his sentiments as a representative of our state, on every question. He is responsible to his people alone. In the name of God, has it come to this, that one who has battled as A. W. Campbell has to my knowledge, in behalf of Republicanism, when it cost something more than it did in the state of New York, cannot freely express his opinion in a Republican convention?

Mr. Brandegee took the ground that this was not a question of free speech in a Republican convention, but one of loyalty to the party, and that the convention should not uphold the action of the three delegates from West Virginia. He would not, however, exclude them from the hall, but would not allow them to participate in the proceedings of the convention. Mr. McCormick of West Virginia (one of the three), defended their course, and in his remarks said:

I made, sir—if the gentlemen of this convention will allow me to say—in 1876, more than one hundred speeches for the nominee of the Republican party, and I am informed that the gentleman from New York (Mr. Conkling) made but one. I would like to see the gentleman practice what he preaches. It is a notorious fact that the gentleman from New York on many occasions in the past, when he failed to secure what he wanted from the Republican party, has not given it the hearty support that I have.

General Garfield took the floor and said:

I fear this convention is about to commit a great error, and before they act I beg leave to state the case. Every delegate in this convention, save three, voted for a resolution. Those three gentlemen have arisen, in their places, and each man has said that he expects and intends to support the nominee of this convention. But they say it is not, according to their judgment, a wise thing at this time to pass the resolution for which all the rest of us voted. Are they to be disfranchised because they thought it was not the time to pass the resolution for which we voted? That is the question, and that is the only question. If these gentlemen had arisen in their places and said, "I will not vote for your nominee," then the question would be a pertinent and entirely different one. Is every delegate here to have his Republicanism inquired into before this convention will allow him to vote? We come here

as Republicans, and we are entitled to take part in the proceedings of this convention, and as one of our rights, we can vote on every resolution "aye" or "no." We are responsible for those votes to our constituents, and to them alone. There never was a convention, there never can be a convention, of which I am one delegate, equal in rights to every other delegate, that shall bind my vote against my will on any question whatever. I regret that these gentlemen thought it best to break the harmony of this convention by their dissent; but when they tell the convention that by their dissent they did not mean that they would not vote for the nominee of this convention, but only that they did not think the resolution at this time wise, I say they acted in their right, and not by my vote shall they be deprived of their seats or their freedom. I do not know the gentlemen nor their affiliations, nor their relations to candidates, except one of them. One of them I know, who in the dark days of slavery, and for twenty long years, in the midst of slave-pens and slave drivers, has stood up for liberty with a clear-sighted courage and a brave heart equal to that of the best Republican that lives on the globe. And, if this convention expels him, then we must purge ourselves at the end of every vote by requiring that so many as shall vote against us shall go out. I trust after the statements that have been made by the three delegates from West Virginia, that the distinguished gentleman from New York (Mr. Conkling) will take pleasure in withdrawing the resolution and let the convention proceed with its business.

General Garfield's remarks were greeted continuously with great applause, and at their close, with prolonged cheering. Mr. Pixley moved that the resolution of Mr. Conkling be laid upon the table. Mr. Conkling asked that the roll be called, that being a test question.

The roll was about to be called when Mr. Conkling arose and inquired of the chair if the delegates, referred to in his resolution, did state that they would support

the nominee of the convention. The president replied that he did not deem it within his province to undertake to put meaning upon the speeches or addresses which have been made to the convention. "The secretary will proceed with the roll call."

Mr. Conkling said:

One word further. If I had or could have an affirmative answer to the question I put to the chair, it would give me great pleasure to withdraw this resolution. I think in some way the chair might enable me to know whether those are right who did not understand these delegates to say that they would support our nominee or the gentleman from Ohio (General Garfield) is right.

The president said: "The chair cannot undertake to answer the question."

Mr. Campbell said: "I do not propose to make any explanation to the gentleman who has raised a question here for his own purpose."

The president said: "The call of the roll will be proceeded with. The question is not debatable."

Mr. Conkling said:

If I am in order, and I believe I am, owing to the purpose for which I rise, I will not insist upon my resolution against even a doubt as to the position of the three members from West Virginia, and although I did not understand the declaration as another member did, rather than run the risk of an injustice to any delegate, I will withdraw the resolution.

Mr. Campbell then said: "In the language of the gentleman from New York (Mr. Conkling) I congratulate him upon his success."

This occurrence in the convention created the greatest excitement and was watched with intense interest. Gen-

eral Garfield's remarks, in which he stated the case so clearly, had a wonderful effect upon the convention, and had a vote been taken it would probably have resulted in laying Mr. Conkling's resolution on the table by a large majority.

Mr. Conkling's arrogant and supercilious manner and sarcastic speech in this matter, as well as in others that followed, lost him the sympathy of many who might otherwise have acted with him, and was in marked contrast with that of General Garfield, whose manner was such as to win the admiration of even those who did not, in every case, support him.

It was then voted that the committee on rules be instructed to report, but that no action be taken upon the report until after the report of the committee on credentials. General Garfield, the chairman of the committee, presented the report, which the secretary read. General Garfield spoke briefly upon the report. Mr. Sharpe, of the committee, presented a minority report, signed by himself and ten other members. The difference in the two reports practically involved the "unit rule" (defeated in the convention of 1876), upon which there was likely to be a contest, for in New York where there had been instructions for General Grant, there were about twenty delegates who wished to vote for Blaine or Sherman (mostly for Blaine) and did not wish to be bound by the action of the majority of the delegation. A similar situation existed in other states.

The committee on credentials then reported, through its chairman, Mr. Conger of Michigan. There were contests in Louisiana, Alabama, Illinois, Kansas, Pennsylvania, West Virginia and Utah. A minority report

was presented by Mr. Clayton of Arkansas. There was a lengthy and exciting discussion upon the two reports, participated in by a large number of the prominent members of the convention, after which, without coming to a decision, the convention took a recess until 7 P. M.

After the recess the discussion was continued amid much excitement and confusion, and after several roll calls and votes, the convention at 2 A. M. (Saturday) adjourned until 11 A. M.

On the reassembling of the convention on Saturday (the fourth day) prayer was offered by Rev. John R. Paxton. The discussion continued on the contested cases, not already acted upon, and after more roll calls and votes they were all disposed of. The two reports upon rules were then discussed by Messrs. Garfield, Sharpe, Frye, Conkling, and Sewell. Mr. Sharpe moved, in lieu of taking action upon the reports, that the convention proceed at once to the nomination of a candidate for President. After a brief discussion the roll was called and the motion lost by: Ayes 276, nays 479. Connecticut voted 12 no.

The majority report on rules was then adopted. The committee on resolutions, through Edwards Pierrepont, chairman, then reported. An amendment relating to the civil service was presented by Mr. Boutwell, and after some discussion, adopted. A recess was then taken until 7 P. M.

#### THE PLATFORM.

The Republican party, in National Convention assembled, at the end of twenty years since the Federal Government was

first committed to its charge, submits to the people of the United States this brief report of its administration:

It suppressed a rebellion which had armed nearly a million of men to subvert the national authority. It reconstructed the Union of the States, with freedom instead of slavery as its corner stone. It transformed 4,000,000 human beings from the likeness of things to the rank of citizens. It relieved congress from the infamous work of hunting fugitive slaves, and charged it to see that slavery does not exist. It has raised the value of our paper currency from 38 per cent to the par of gold. It has restored upon a solid basis payment in the coin for all the national obligations, and has given us a currency absolutely good and equal in every part of our extended country. It has lifted the credit of the nation from the point where six per cent bonds sold at eighty-six to that where four per cent bonds are eagerly sought at a premium.

Under its administration, railways have increased from 31,000 miles in 1860 to more than 82,000 miles in 1879. Our foreign trade has increased from \$700,000,000 to \$1,115,000,000 in the same time, and our exports, which were \$20,000,000 less than our imports in 1860, were \$265,000,000 more than our imports in 1879.

Without resorting to loans, it has since the war closed, defrayed the ordinary expenses of government, besides the accruing interest of the public debt, and has disbursed annually more than \$30,000,000 for soldiers' and sailors' pensions. It has paid \$880,000,000 of the public debt, and by refunding the balance at lower rates has reduced the annual interest charge from nearly \$150,000,000 to less than \$89,000,000. All the industries of the country have revived; labor is in demand; wages have increased, and throughout the entire country there is evidence of a coming prosperity greater than we have ever enjoyed.

Upon this record the Republican party asks for the continued confidence and support of the people, and this convention submits for their approval the following statement of the principles and purposes which will continue to guide and inspire its efforts.



1. We affirm that the work of the Republican party for the last twenty-one years has been such as to commend it to the favor of the nation; that the fruits of the costly victories which we have achieved through immense difficulties should be preserved; that the peace regained should be cherished; that the Union should be perpetuated, and that the liberty secured to this generation should be transmitted undiminished to other generations; that the order established and the credit acquired should never be impaired; that the pensions promised should be paid; that the debt so much reduced should be extinguished by the full payment of every dollar thereof; that the reviving industries should be further promoted, and that the commerce already increasing should be steadily encouraged.

2. The Constitution of the United States is a supreme law, and not a mere contract. Out of Confederate states it made a sovereign nation. Some powers are denied to the nation, while others are denied to the states; but the boundary between the powers delegated and those reserved is to be determined by the national, and not by the state tribunal.

3. The work of popular education is one left to the care of the several states, but it is the duty of the national government to aid that work to the extent of its constitutional power. The intelligence of the nation is but the aggregate of the intelligence in the several states, and the destiny of the nation must be guided, not by the genius of any one state, but by the aggregate genius of all.

4. The Constitution wisely forbids congress to make any law respecting the establishment of religion, but it is idle to hope that the nation can be protected against the influence of secret sectarianism while each state is exposed to its domination. We, therefore, recommend that the Constitution be so amended as to lay the same prohibition upon the legislature of each state, and to forbid the appropriation of public funds to the support of sectarian schools.

5. We affirm the belief, avowed in 1876, that the duties levied for the purpose of revenue should so discriminate as

to favor American labor; that no further grants of the public domain should be made to any railway or other corporation; that slavery having perished in the states, its twin barbarity, polygamy, must die in the territories; that everywhere the protection accorded to a citizen of American birth must be secured to citizens by American adoption; that we deem it the duty of Congress to develop and improve our seacoast and harbors, but insist that further subsidies to private persons or corporations must cease; that the obligations of the Republic to the men who preserved its integrity in the day of battle are undiminished by the lapse of fifteen years since their final victory. To do them honor is, and shall forever be, the grateful privilege and sacred duty of the American people.

6. Since the authority to regulate immigration and intercourse between the United States and foreign nations rests with the congress of the United States and the treaty-making power, the Republican party, regarding the unrestricted immigration of the Chinese as a matter of grave concernment, under the exercise of both these powers, would limit and restrict that immigration by the enactment of such just, humane and reasonable laws and treaties as will produce that result.

7. That the purity and patriotism which characterized the earlier career of Rutherford B. Hayes, in peace and war, and which guided the thoughts of our immediate predecessors to him for a presidential candidate, have continued to inspire him in his career as Chief Executive; and that history will accord to his administration the honors which are due to an efficient, just and courteous discharge of the public business, and will honor his vetoes interposed between the people and attempted partisan laws.

8. We charge upon the Democratic party the habitual sacrifice of patriotism and justice to a supreme and insatiable lust for office and patronage; that to obtain possession of the national government, and control of the place, they have obstructed all efforts to promote the purity and to conserve the freedom of suffrage, and have devised fraudulent ballots and

invented fraudulent certifications of returns; have labored to unseat lawfully elected members of congress, to secure at all hazards the vote of a majority of the states in the house of representatives; have endeavored to occupy by force and fraud the places of trust given to others by the people of Maine, rescued by the courage and actions of Maine's patriotic sons; have, by methods vicious in principle and tyrannical in practice, attached partisan legislation to appropriation bills, upon whose passage the very movement of the government depended; have crushed the rights of the individual; have advocated the principles and sought the favor of the rebellion against the nation, and have endeavored to obliterate the sacred memories of the war, and to overcome its inestimable valuable results of nationality, personal freedom and individual equality.

The equal, steady and complete enforcement of laws, and the protection of all our citizens in the enjoyment of all privileges and immunity guaranteed by the Constitution, are the first duties of the nation. The dangers of a solid South can only be averted by a faithful performance of every promise which the nation has made to the citizen. The execution of the laws, and the punishment of all those who violate them, are the only safe methods by which an enduring peace can be secured and genuine prosperity established throughout the South. Whatever promises the nation makes the nation must perform. A nation cannot safely relegate this duty to the states. The solid South must be divided by the peaceful agencies of the ballot, and all honest opinions must there find free expression. To this end the honest voter must be protected against terrorism, violence or fraud. And we affirm it to be the duty and the purpose of the Republican party to use all legitimate means to restore all the states of this Union to the most perfect harmony that may be possible; and we submit to the practical, sensible people of these United States to say whether it would not be dangerous to the dearest interests of our country at this time to surrender the administration of the national government to a party which seeks to overthrow

the existing policy, under which we are so prosperous, and thus bring distrust and confusion where there is now order, confidence and hope.

EDWARDS PIERREPONT, *Chairman.*

T. D. EDWARDS, *Secretary.*

It was now known that, practically, all the business of the convention had been finished with the exception of the presentation of names of candidates for President and Vice-President, and the balloting to follow, and the time for this had been awaited anxiously ever since the first session began. The convention had already been in session four days, longer than any previous convention of the Republican party. Its sessions had been attended by thousands of people, both men and women. The floor and galleries had been filled, and at times to overflowing, by enthusiastic and noisy crowds of people, whom it was difficult to control and keep in order. Their applause and cheering were frequent and disturbed the proceedings of the convention. They applauded different prominent delegates as they took their seats, and a few of the delegates were pronounced favorites. General Garfield's appearance at each session was the signal for prolonged cheering and he seemed to be the favorite, not only of the spectators, but also of a majority of the convention, and probably his nomination later was largely owing to the very favorable impression he had there made. Mr. Conkling was also heartily cheered whenever he entered the convention, and there seemed to be a rivalry between his admirers and those of General Garfield to see which could outdo the other in their demonstrations. Doubtless many were impartial and cheered both; but they were considered the two rival leaders of

the convention. There was a great contrast between the two men. Garfield, modest, unassuming, yet dignified, marched down the center aisle to his seat apparently unconscious that the tremendous outburst of applause was all intended for him. Conkling, on the contrary, was proud and haughty in manner and seemed to receive the great demonstration as his due and as worthily bestowed. They were both giants, but so different by nature and in disposition! General Logan, Benjamin Harrison and a few others received much applause on their appearance in the convention. Mr. Harrison took part in some of the discussions and made a favorable impression, but it was little thought then that eight years later he would be the nominee of his party for President!

General Logan took a prominent and active part in the proceedings. He was aggressive, a fighter, and ably assisted Mr. Conkling in behalf of General Grant. During one of the sessions of the convention he came to the Connecticut delegates and urged them to vote for the "old captain," as he called General Grant, but there was not a vote in the Connecticut delegation for Grant. Governor Jewell had a seat upon the platform, but part of the time sat with the Connecticut delegates.

On the opening of the evening session on Saturday, the states were called upon to present the names of members of the national committee. Connecticut named Marshall Jewell.

Mr. Hale moved that the roll of states be called for the nomination of a candidate for President of the United States. The motion prevailed amid great excitement on the floor and in the galleries. The hall was packed with people. The cheering, as the names of the different can-

didates were presented, was loud and prolonged and the noise and confusion so great as to make it almost impossible at times for the speakers to be heard.

James F. Joy of Michigan presented the name of James G. Blaine in an able speech which was received with great enthusiasm and prolonged cheering. Mr. Joy was not an orator nor a magnetic speaker, and his speech was evidently a disappointment to the Blaine men, but it was later followed by a two-minute speech by William P. Frye, which aroused tremendous cheering, long continued. F. M. Pixley of California also made an eloquent speech in behalf of Mr. Blaine.

When New York was called, Mr. Conkling proceeded to the platform. He mounted a reporter's table just in front of the platform, made ready for him by Howard Carroll of the NEW YORK TIMES, evidently by a preconceived arrangement. Mr. Conkling's appearance was the signal for great cheering, so prolonged that it was many minutes before he could proceed with his speech. It was eloquent and delivered with great force. His oratory charmed all who heard him and evidently made a great impression on the immense audience. After the noise and confusion had somewhat subsided, he began with these well-known words:

“And when asked what state he hails from,  
Our sole reply shall be,  
He hails from Appomattox  
And its famous apple tree.”

This rhyme met with a tremendous outburst of cheering. He proceeded with his speech in praise of General Grant, frequently interrupted by cheering, and closed with an eloquent peroration.

## SENATOR CONKLING'S SPEECH (IN PART).

In obedience to instructions which I shall never dare to disregard, expressing also my own firm convictions, I rise, Mr. President, in behalf of the State of New York, to propose a nomination with which the country and the Republican party can grandly win.

The election before us is the Austerlitz of American politics. It will decide, for many years, whether the country shall be Republican or Cossack. The supreme need of the hour is not a candidate who can carry Michigan. All Republican candidates can do that. The need is not of a candidate popular in the territories, because the territories have no vote. The need is for a candidate who can carry doubtful states. Not the doubtful states of the North alone, but also doubtful states of the South, which we have heard, if I understood aright, ought to take little or no part here, because the South has nothing to give, but everything to receive. The need which urges itself on the conscience and reason of the convention is of a candidate who can carry doubtful states, both North and South. And believing that he, more surely than any other man, can carry New York against any opponent, and can carry not only the North, but several states of the South, New York is for Ulysses S. Grant.

Never defeated—in peace or war—his name is the most illustrious borne by living man. His services attest his greatness, and the country—nay, the world—knows them by heart. His fame was earned not alone by things written or said, but by the arduous greatness of things done; and perils and emergencies will search in vain in the future, as they have searched in vain in the past, for any other on whom the nation leans with such confidence and trust. Never having had a policy to enforce against the will of the people, he never betrayed a cause or a friend, and the people will never desert or betray him. Standing on the highest eminence of human distinction, modest, firm, simple and self-poised, having filled all lands with his renown, he has seen not only the high-born

and the titled, but the poor and lonely, in the uttermost ends of the earth, rise and uncover before him . . . .

Never elated by success, never depressed by adversity, he has ever, in peace as in war, shown the very genius of common sense. The terms he presented for Lee's surrender foreshadowed the wisest prophecies and principles of true reconstruction. Victor in the greatest war of modern times, he quickly signalized his aversion to war and his love of peace by an arbitration of international disputes which stands the wisest, the most majestic example of its kind in the world's diplomacy.

When inflation, at the height of its popularity and frenzy, had swept both houses of congress, it was the veto of Grant, single and alone, which overthrew expansion and cleared the way for specie resumption. To him immeasurably more than to any other man, is due the fact that every paper dollar is at last as good as gold.

With him as our leader, we shall have no defensive campaign. We shall have nothing to explain away. We shall have no apologies to make. The shafts and arrows have all been aimed at him, and they lie broken and harmless, at his feet . . . . This convention is master of a supreme opportunity. It can name the next President of the United States. It can make sure of his election. It can make sure not only of his election, but of his certain and peaceful inauguration . . . .

Gentlemen, we have only to listen above the din, and look beyond the dust of an hour, to behold the Republican party advancing, with its ensigns resplendent with illustrious achievement, marching to certain and lasting victory, with its greatest marshal at its head.

The nomination was seconded by Mr. Bradley of Kentucky in an able and eloquent speech.

When Ohio was called, General Garfield proceeded to the platform and received a great ovation. His welcome and reception was as great, if not greater, than that



accorded Mr. Conkling. His speech was constantly interrupted by great cheering, as he related the history of the Republican party; what it had already accomplished, and the man now needed for President, describing with great eloquence what his candidate had done for the country, and concluded by saying: "I nominate John Sherman of Ohio."

It was a great speech, and although Mr. Sherman was not one of the leading candidates, his strong and hearty support from General Garfield gave to his name as great a reception as that accorded to either Blaine or Grant. General Garfield said, near the beginning of his speech (in substance) that, in the presence of 15,000 people with all the attendant excitement, it was not the best place to decide upon a candidate. "Not in Chicago, in the heat of June, but at the ballot boxes of the Republic, in the quiet of November, after the silence of deliberate judgment, will this question be settled. And now, gentlemen of the convention, what do we want?"

A voice from the gallery, at some distance, responded, in a loud tone: "We want Garfield!" The effect was electrical. There was terrific cheering, and it was some time before General Garfield could proceed with his speech. General Garfield had made such a favorable impression upon all who had seen and heard him since he had been in Chicago, that his name was on many lips as the nominee, in case of a deadlock in the convention.

General Garfield's speech, in part, was as follows:

*Mr. President:*

I have witnessed the extraordinary scenes of this convention with deep solicitude.

Nothing touches my heart more quickly than a tribute of

honor to a great and noble character; but as I sat in my seat and witnessed this demonstration, this assemblage seemed to me a human ocean in tempest. I have seen the sea lashed into fury and tossed into spray, and its grandeur moves the soul of the dullest man; but I remember that it is not the billows, but the calm level of the sea from which all heights and depths are measured. When the storm has passed and the hour of calm settles on the ocean, when the sunlight bathes its peaceful surface, then the astronomer and surveyor take the level from which they measure all terrestrial heights and depths.

Gentlemen of the convention, your temper may not mark the healthful pulse of our people.

When your enthusiasm has passed, when the emotions of this hour have subsided, we shall find below the storm and passion that calm level of public opinion from which the thoughts of a mighty people are to be measured, and by which final action will be determined.

Not here, in this brilliant circle where 15,000 men and women are gathered, is the destiny of the Republic to be decreed for the next four years. Not here, where I see the enthusiastic faces of 756 delegates, waiting to cast their lot into the urn and determine the choice of the Republic; but by your millions of republican firesides, where the thoughtful voters, with wives and children about them, with calm thoughts, inspired by love of home and country, with the history of the past, the hopes of the future, and reverence for the great men who have adorned and blessed our nation in days gone by, burning in their hearts—there God prepares the verdict which will determine the wisdom of our work to-night.

Not in Chicago, in the heat of June, but at the ballot boxes of the Republic, in the quiet of November, after the silence of deliberate judgment, will this question be settled. And now, gentlemen of the convention, what do we want?

A VOICE—"We want Garfield—"

GENERAL GARFIELD—Bear with me a moment.

"Hear me for my cause,"—and for a moment "be silent that you may hear." . . . We want a man whose life and opinions embody all the achievements of which I have spoken. We want a man who, standing on a mountain height, traces victorious footsteps of our party in the past, and carrying in his heart the memory of its glorious deeds, looks forward prepared to meet the dangers to come. We want one who will act in no spirit of unkindness towards those we lately met in battle. The Republican party offers to our brethren of the South the olive branch of peace, and invites them to renewed brotherhood, in this supreme condition. That it shall be admitted, forever, that in the war for the Union we were right and they were wrong. On that supreme condition we meet them as brethren, and ask them to share with us the blessings and honors of this great Republic.

Now, gentlemen, not to weary you, I am about to present a name for your consideration—the name of one who was the comrade, associate and friend of nearly all the noble dead, whose faces look down upon us from these walls to-night (referring to portraits of Lincoln, Sumner, Wade, Chandler and other eminent Americans hanging in the hall), a man who began his career of public service twenty-five years ago; who courageously confronted the slave power in the days of peril on the plains of Kansas, when first began to fall the red drops of that bloody shower which finally swelled into the deluge of gore in the late rebellion. He bravely stood by young Kansas, and returning to his seat in the national legislature, his pathway, through all the subsequent years has been marked by labors worthily performed in every department of legislation.

You ask for his monument. I point you to twenty-five years of national statutes. Not one great, beneficent law has been placed on our statute books without his intelligent and powerful aid.

He aided in formulating the laws to raise the great armies and navies which carried us through the war. His hand was seen in the workmanship of those statutes that restored the

unity of the states. His hand was in all that great legislation that created the war currency, and in the still greater work that redeemed the promises of the government and made that currency equal to gold . . . .

He has shown himself able to meet with calmness the great emergencies of the government. For twenty-five years he has trodden the perilous heights of public duty, and against all the shafts of malice, has borne his breast unharmed. He has stood in the blaze of "that fierce light that beats against the throne," but its fiercest ray has found no flaw in his armor, no stain upon his shield. I do not present him as a better Republican or a better man than thousands of others that we know; but I present him for your deliberate and favorable consideration. I nominate John Sherman of Ohio.

Mr. Winckler of Wisconsin and Mr. Elliott of South Carolina seconded Sherman's nomination.

Mr. Drake of Minnesota presented the name of William Windom of Minnesota.

Mr. Billings of Vermont nominated George F. Edmunds and the nomination was seconded by Mr. Sanford of Massachusetts.

Mr. Cassoday of Wisconsin nominated Elihu B. Washburne, and Mr. Brandegee seconded the nomination in an able and eloquent speech, which was loudly cheered.

It was then 11:45 o'clock and the convention adjourned until 10 o'clock Monday morning. There was great excitement during Sunday in the hotels and all over the city as to the probable result on Monday. The discussions in the lobbies of the hotels were continued with as much warmth as on previous days. There was not much rest for those deeply interested, and every effort was made to strengthen the forces of each candidate.

The convention reassembled on Monday (the fifth day) at 10 o'clock A. M. Prayer was offered by Rev. Mr. Everest. Mr. Hale moved that the convention, under the rules, proceed to ballot for a candidate for President. The motion was seconded by Mr. Conkling. The president said:

Before putting this question the chair desires to be heard for one moment. The convention now proposes to proceed to a most important act, in the selection of the Chief Magistrate of the Republic. In scarcely any other country on earth could such an act take place without strife and blood. Nothing will so tend to elevate the American people in the respect of mankind, to attract mankind to our borders, as the spectacle of such a proceeding conducted with peace, with dignity, with decorum, with quiet. The chair, therefore, trusts that every gentleman present, whether member of the convention, or here as a witness of the proceedings, will feel that his country is affected by the propriety and order of his own conduct.

This admonition of the president's was received with favor, and, while there was great excitement in the convention during the balloting, the president had fair control over those present. The roll of states was then called and the balloting began.

Frequently during the balloting the vote as cast by the chairman of a state delegation would be questioned and the vote of the delegates polled by the secretary calling their names. In some cases changes were made in the vote as cast by the chairman of the delegation.

The result of the first ballot was as follows:

Total number of votes cast .....	755
Necessary to a choice .....	378

Ulysses S. Grant received .....	304
James G. Blaine .....	284
John Sherman .....	93
George F. Edmunds .....	34
Elihu B. Washburne .....	30
William Windom .....	10

The balloting continued without material changes, until after the eighteenth ballot, when the convention took a recess until 7 P. M.

After the recess, the convention continued balloting until nearly 10 o'clock without marked changes, and then adjourned, after the twenty-eighth ballot, until the following morning at 10 o'clock.

There was a call of the roll on the motion to adjourn. The vote resulted, ayes 446, nays 303. Connecticut voted 12 no.

The convention reassembled on Tuesday (the sixth day) at 10 o'clock A. M. Prayer was offered by Rev. Dr. H. W. Thomas. The balloting again began, and on the first ballot taken, the twenty-ninth, Sherman's vote increased from 91 to 116, and Edmund's decreased from 31 to 12 and Windom's from 10 to 7. On the thirty-second ballot Washburne gained seven votes. Until the thirty-fourth ballot there had been no indication of what the final result would be.

Grant's highest vote had been 312 on the thirty-fourth ballot and his lowest 302 on the twenty-fifth. Blaine's highest vote had been 285 on the fourteenth, and lowest, 270, on the thirty-second. Sherman's highest vote had been 120 on the thirtieth, and his lowest, 88, on the fifteenth. Edmund's highest vote was 34, on the first

ballot. It was 32 on several ballots and then remained at 31 until the twenty-ninth, when a number of his supporters went to Sherman. Washburne's highest vote was 44 and lowest 30. Garfield had received 1 vote on fourteen ballots and two on thirteen, in almost every case from Pennsylvania.

On the thirty-fourth ballot his vote increased to 17, 16 coming from Wisconsin.

This change of the Washburne men in Wisconsin to Garfield created the most intense excitement in the convention. On the announcement of the result of the ballot, General Garfield arose in his seat and said: "Mr. President, I rise to a question of order." The president said: "The gentleman from Ohio will state his question of order." General Garfield said: "I challenge the correctness of the announcement. The announcement contains votes for me. No man has a right without the consent of the person voted for, to announce that person's name, and vote for him, in this convention. Such consent I have not given."

The president said: "The chair overrules the gentleman's question of order. He will resume his seat."

Then came the thirty-fifth ballot and it was taken with the convention in an uproar. Delegates were rushing about the floor, the different delegations consulting among themselves and with other delegations. It was thought that the ballot then being taken might, if not decisive, indicate Garfield's nomination on the next ballot. The ballot resulted as follows: Grant 313, Blaine 257, Sherman 99, Edmunds 11, Washburne 23, Windom 3, Garfield 50.

The announcement of the result was greeted with great

cheering. The break had come. It had been started by Wisconsin. That state being the last on the roll, held an advantageous place for starting a break. It had again cast 16 votes for Garfield, 2 for Grant and 2 for Blaine. Indiana had cast 27 for Garfield and Maryland 4. Mississippi, North Carolina and Pennsylvania had each cast one. The Sherman and Washburne men and most of the Blaine men in the Wisconsin and Indiana delegations had gone to Garfield.

When the thirty-sixth ballot was being taken pandemonium (almost) reigned in the convention. As the Blaine men, delegation after delegation, gave their votes to Garfield, and also the remaining Sherman, Washburne and Edmunds men, the wildest excitement prevailed. Delegations took the standards of their states, and going to the seats of the Ohio delegates, grouped them above the head of General Garfield, who was greatly overcome and seemed dazed and bewildered. He left the convention during the demonstrations before the result of the ballot was known. The vote was finally announced, after the delegations of many states had been polled, and resulted as follows:

Whole number of votes cast .....	755
Necessary to a choice .....	378
James A. Garfield received .....	399
Ulysses S. Grant .....	306
James G. Blaine .....	42
Elihu B. Washburne .....	5
John Sherman .....	3

On the announcement of the result the demonstrations were continued. The delegates formed in processions and marched about the hall, carrying flags and the standards



of their states. The bands played patriotic airs, while hundreds on the floor joined in singing. Cheers after cheers were given. The thousands in the galleries took part in the demonstrations. All were on their feet, waving handkerchiefs and flags, singing and cheering. It was many minutes before sufficient order could be restored so that business could be transacted.

Connecticut on the last ballot voted 11 for Garfield and 1 for Blaine, and that one was Samuel Fessenden, ever true to the idol of his heart, for whom he had worked zealously and untiringly at Chicago, as he had four years before in Cincinnati. Connecticut had on the first ballot cast 3 votes for Blaine, 2 for Edmunds and 7 for Washburne. On the next and for five ballots following, Blaine had 3, Edmunds 1 and Washburne 8. Then the Edmunds man went to Washburne and the vote on the remaining ballots, until the last, was Blaine 3 and Washburne 9. The Washburne men in the delegation had been for several days in touch with those from Wisconsin. The president announced, "James A. Garfield of Ohio is nominated for President of the United States. Shall the nomination be made unanimous?"

Mr. Conkling, in a brief speech, moved to make the nomination unanimous, and was followed by General Logan to the same effect, and also by Mr. Hale, Mr. Beaver and others. Mr. Foster of Ohio read a dispatch from John Sherman as follows:

Whenever the vote of Ohio will be likely to assure the nomination of Garfield, I appeal to every delegate to vote for him. Let Ohio be solid. Make the appeal in my name to every delegate.

He also read the following dispatch from Washington:

The house of representatives has appointed a committee of five of its oldest members to congratulate James A. Garfield on his nomination—William D. Kelly was appointed chairman—and adjourned with three cheers for Garfield.

Mr. Houck of Tennessee and Benjamin Harrison also spoke, congratulating the convention upon General Garfield's nomination. The nomination was then made unanimous. At 2:30 P. M. a recess was taken until 5 P. M. Soon after the recess of the convention began, and when a large part of the delegates and spectators had left, while crossing the floor of the hall, I saw Chester A. Arthur approaching from the opposite side. Just then William Dennison of the Ohio delegation, war governor of Ohio, and later postmaster-general in President Lincoln's cabinet, seeing Mr. Arthur, hurried toward him and said: "Arthur, New York must name the candidate for Vice-President." Mr. Arthur, evidently feeling very sore over Grant's defeat, walked on, scarcely making a reply.

During the afternoon the New York delegation had a caucus in their rooms at the Grand Pacific Hotel and it was rumored that they would agree to present the name of Levi P. Morton to the convention as their choice for the nomination for Vice-President, and much surprise was manifested when it became known that Chester A. Arthur had been selected.

The convention met again at 5 P. M. It was voted to proceed to the nomination of a candidate for Vice-President. Mr. Pixley nominated Elihu B. Washburne. Henry C. Robinson, in a brief but eloquent address, nominated Marshall Jewell.

Mr. Houck nominated Horace Maynard.

Stewart L. Woodford nominated Chester A. Arthur, and the nomination was seconded by General Kilpatrick. Emory A. Storrs, J. M. Harris of Maryland, and others.

Mr. Washburne's nomination was seconded by Mr. Campbell of West Virginia.

The roll of states was then called and the ballot resulted as follows:

Total number of votes .....	751
Necessary to a choice .....	376
Chester A. Arthur received .....	468
Elihu B. Washburne .....	193
Marshall Jewell .....	44
Horace Maynard .....	30
Scattering .....	16

Connecticut cast twelve votes for Marshall Jewell. The nomination of Chester A. Arthur was then made unanimous with loud and continuous cheering.

A vote of thanks was passed to the president and other officers of the convention, and also to the citizens of Chicago for their courteous and generous hospitality. It was voted that the president appoint a committee of one from each state to notify the candidates of their nomination. The president said he would select the committee in the evening at his room in the hotel.

The convention at 7:30 o'clock adjourned sine die.

After the adjournment the president named the committee on notification. Hobart B. Bigelow was named for Connecticut.

The committee assembled in the club room of the Grand Pacific Hotel, and Senator Hoar formally notified

the candidates of their nominations, after a sub-committee had been appointed to conduct them to the room. Both candidates responded briefly in acceptance.

James A. Garfield, at the age of 28, was elected a member of the Ohio state senate. After the outbreak of the Civil War, in August, 1861, he was commissioned a lieutenant-colonel by Governor Dennison. In February, 1863, he was appointed chief of staff to General Rosecrans and in September of that year became a major-general. His record in the war was brilliant and abounded in many acts of bravery.

In December following he took his seat in congress as the successor of Joshua R. Giddings, having been elected more than a year before while in the field. He served during the eighteen years as a member on the following committees: Military affairs, ways and means and banking and currency, becoming chairman of the latter, which was a new committee. In January, 1880, he was elected a United States senator to succeed Allan G. Thurman.

Chester A. Arthur, on January 1, 1861, at the age of 30, was appointed by Governor Edwin D. Morgan of New York on his staff as engineer-in-chief with the rank of brigadier-general. When the Civil War began, in April following, he became acting quartermaster-general and prepared and forwarded the state's quota of troops to the front. He later became inspector-general and acted as such during the remainder of Governor Morgan's term. He then became a member of a law firm in New York city and was prominent in politics. In 1871 he was appointed by President Grant collector of the port of New York and held that position nearly seven years. He was a warm personal friend of Senator Conkling and supported General Grant in the contest for his nomination for a third term, being one of the delegates at large to the National Convention.

The convention had been the most memorable one in the history of the Republican party, excepting, perhaps,

that of 1860, when Abraham Lincoln was nominated. It was to be Garfield's fate, as was that of Lincoln, to die a martyr to his country. His nomination was received by the Republican party throughout the country with great satisfaction and enthusiasm. His pre-eminent ability was recognized by all and his record in Congress had been the pride of his party. There was naturally some disappointment among the ardent supporters of Grant and Blaine, but as the campaign progressed this feeling disappeared and the party became united. Grant, magnanimous in defeat, accepted the result in a spirit of loyalty and made many addresses in behalf of the candidate in different parts of the country to immense audiences, which welcomed him with the greatest enthusiasm. Blaine made a tour of the country and in many speeches, by his great ability, eloquence and personal magnetism, stirred the hearts of his large audiences.

Senator Conkling made some speeches at the West, but it was said did not once mention the candidate for President by name.

General Garfield was visited by many delegations of enthusiastic Republicans at his home in Mentor and spoke to them eloquently upon the issues of the campaign. The tariff was made one of the leading issues, and no man understood the question better than he, who had for years been a champion of protection to American industries.

The Democrats nominated General Winfield Scott Hancock, "The Superb," as he was called, a gallant soldier in the Union army, and William H. English of Indiana for Vice-President.

Governor Jewell was the choice of General Garfield

for chairman of the national committee, and managed the campaign with great ability and energy. The October states were carried by the Republicans, and the election in November resulted in a great victory. Garfield and Arthur carried every northern state except New Jersey, Nevada and California. James A. Garfield was inaugurated President March 4, 1881, and became the successor to Rutherford B. Hayes.



**THE EIGHTH  
REPUBLICAN NATIONAL  
CONVENTION**





JAMES G. BLAINE

REPUBLICAN  
CANDIDATES

1884



JOHN A. LOGAN

THE EIGHTH REPUBLICAN NATIONAL CONVENTION  
HELD AT CHICAGO, ILL., JUNE 3-6, 1884

*For President*—JAMES G. BLAINE, of Maine

*For Vice-President*—JOHN A. LOGAN, of Illinois

The eighth Republican National Convention assembled in Chicago in June, 1884. James A. Garfield was inaugurated President on March 4, 1881. His cabinet was composed of able men who had been prominent in the party, including James G. Blaine as secretary of state, William Windom as secretary of the treasury, Wayne MacVeagh as attorney general and Robert T. Lincoln as secretary of war.

There was bitter dissension in the party in New York and Garfield gave much consideration to his duty in the matter. He was willing to do anything except yield the independence of the executive in his own constitutional sphere. He would give to the New York senators, Conkling and Platt, more than their share of offices; but they should not be allowed to interfere with or control the presidential right of nomination. The nomination

to the senate on March 23 of William H. Robertson, an anti-Conkling man, as collector of the port of New York, brought matters to a crisis and on May 16, following, Conkling and Platt resigned from the Senate.

The senators expecting a vindication from their state, the legislature then being in session, went to Albany and became candidates for re-election. There was a great contest among the Republican members, lasting for many weeks, with several candidates in the field. It finally resulted in the choice of Elbridge G. Lapham of Canandaigua to succeed Mr. Conkling and Warner Miller of Herkimer to succeed Mr. Platt. The former was a Conkling man and the latter an anti-Conkling man. The ill feeling engendered by this contest caused a split in the party, resulting in two factions—the Conkling men were called “stalwarts” and the anti-Conkling men “half breeds.”

The early summer came, and peace and happiness and the growing strength of and popularity of Garfield's administration cheered the heart of its chief. At a moment of special exaltation, on the morning of July 2, he was shot by a disappointed office seeker. Garfield was setting out on a trip to New England, anticipating especial pleasure in witnessing the commencement exercises of his alma mater at Williamstown, and while passing through the waiting-room of the depot at 9 o'clock, leaning on the arm of Mr. Blaine, the assassin fired at him with a pistol. He lingered until September 19 following, when he died at Elberon, N. J., having been brought there from Washington about two weeks previously.

The Vice-President, Chester A. Arthur, then became

President, having taken the oath of office at his residence in New York the following day before Judge John R. Brady of the New York supreme court. On the 22d the oath was formally administered again in the Vice-President's room in the capitol at Washington by Chief Justice Waite, when President Arthur delivered a brief inaugural address.

The members of President Garfield's cabinet resigned their places at once, but were requested to remain until the regular meeting of Congress in December. Robert T. Lincoln, secretary of war, was retained during the entire term of President Arthur.

"The new President's inaugural was explicit, judicious and reassuring, and his purposes not to administer his high office in the spirit of former faction, although by it he lost some friendships, did much toward healing the dissensions within the dominant party. His conservative administration of the government commanded universal confidence, preserved public order, and promoted business activity. . . . His administration, considered as a whole, was responsive to every national demand, and stands in all its departments substantially without assault or criticism."

When the convention met to choose the candidate, who if elected, would be President Arthur's successor, he had served nearly three years in the office. He had, in many ways, so conducted affairs as to win the support of a large part of the Republican party, who desired his nomination as a candidate for President.

James G. Blaine again became a candidate and had the hearty support of those who had battled for his nomination in the conventions of 1876 and 1880. The names of

Senator George F. Edmunds and General John A. Logan were also prominently mentioned. The convention was composed of leading Republicans from every state and territory.

Among the delegates were: Theodore Roosevelt, Andrew D. White, George William Curtis, William H. Robertson, James W. Husted, Henry G. Burleigh, Benjamin B. Odell, Hamilton Fish, Jr., Martin I. Townsend, Thomas Cornell, Thomas C. Platt and James W. Wadsworth of New York; H. H. Bingham, Galusha A. Grow, Daniel J. Morrell, John Stewart, C. L. Magee and Thomas M. Bayne of Pennsylvania; Shelby M. Culom, Burton C. Cook, Clark E. Carr and J. W. Fifer of Illinois; Benjamin Harrison, Richard W. Thompson, John H. Baker and Morris McDonald of Indiana; William McKinley, Jr., Joseph B. Foraker, Mark A. Hanna, William H. West and Benjamin Eggleston of Ohio; Roswell G. Horr, Julius C. Burrows and Russell A. Alger of Michigan; Dwight M. Sabin and Cushman K. Davis of Minnesota; William W. Morrow, George A. Knight, Thomas R. Bard and Horace Davis of California; Powell Clayton of Arkansas; Augustus Brandegee, Frederick Miles, Valentine B. Chamberlain, Orsamus R. Fyler and Ebenezer J. Hill of Connecticut; J. S. Clarkson, W. G. Donnan and J. Y. Stone of Iowa; Preston B. Plumb and Cyrus Leland, Jr., of Kansas; William O. Bradley, Walter Evans and William Cassius Goodloe of Kentucky; William P. Kellogg and P. B. S. Pinchback of Louisiana; Josiah H. Drummond, George C. Wing and Albion Little of Maine; James A. Gary and George L. Wellington of Maryland; George F. Hoar, William W.

Crapo, John D. Long, Henry Cabot Lodge, Robert R. Bishop and Edward L. Pierce of Massachusetts; Blanche K. Bruce, James Hill and John R. Lynch of Mississippi; John B. Henderson, Chauncey I. Filley and R. T. Van Horn of Missouri; John M. Thurston and Church Howe of Nebraska; Edward H. Rollins and Charles H. Sawyer of New Hampshire; William Walter Phelps, William J. Sewell, J. Franklin Fort and John I. Blair of New Jersey; William P. Brownlow and L. C. Houck of Tennessee; J. Gregory Smith, Redfield Proctor and Frederick Billings of Vermont; William Mahone and John S. Wise of Virginia; E. B. Brodhead, E. W. Keyes and Thomas B. Scott of Wisconsin.

Thomas C. Platt of New York, who resigned as United States senator with Roscoe Conkling in May, 1881, later broke with the latter and also with President Arthur, and became a supporter of James G. Blaine. As a delegate to this convention he used his strongest efforts to secure Mr. Blaine's nomination and doubtless his support was a great help to Mr. Blaine.

The Connecticut delegation was composed of the following, all well known men in the politics of the state:

#### AT LARGE.

Augustus Brandegee, New London; alternate, John A. Tibbits, New London.

Frederick Miles, Salisbury; alternate, Samuel Fessenden, Stamford.

Samuel E. Merwin, Jr., New Haven; alternate, John S. Fowler, New Haven.

John L. Houston, Thompsonville; alternate, Morgan G. Bulkeley, Hartford.

## DISTRICT.

First—V. B. Chamberlain, New Britain; alternate, Charles S. Landers, New Britain. Ralph P. Gilbert, Hebron; alternate, George Belding, Rockville.

Second—Luzerne I. Munson, Waterbury; alternate, David S. Plume, Waterbury. John G. Edmonds, Deep River; alternate, Henry W. Stocking, Cromwell.

Third—Eugene S. Boss, Willimantic; alternate, Charles A. Russell, Killingly; Ira G. Briggs, Voluntown; alternate, John R. Buck, Hartford.

Fourth—Orsamus R. Fyler, Torrington; alternate, James L. Carson, Torrington; Ebenezer J. Hill, Norwalk; alternate, Andrew J. Crofut, South Norwalk.

Augustus Brandegee had been a delegate to the conventions of 1856, 1864 and 1880. Frederick Miles served several terms in Congress as a member from the Fourth District. Samuel E. Merwin, Jr., was later a candidate for governor. Valentine B. Chamberlain became treasurer of the state, 1885-1887. Luzerne I. Munson, comptroller the same year. Orsamus R. Fyler, many years a chairman of the state central committee, and Ebenezer J. Hill, member of congress from the Fourth District, now serving his seventh term.

The convention met in the Exposition Building on Tuesday, June 3, at 12 o'clock noon. This was the same building in which the convention of 1880 was held and described in my paper upon that convention.

It was called to order by Dwight M. Sabin of Minnesota, chairman of the national committee. Mr. Sabin had been chosen chairman to fill the vacancy caused by the death of Marshall Jewell in February, 1883. Prayer was offered by Rev. Frank M. Bristol. The call for the convention was read and the chairman made an opening

address, closing with the announcement that the committee proposed for temporary chairman of the convention, Powell Clayton of Arkansas, a member of the national committee. Mr. Lodge moved to substitute the name of John R. Lynch (colored) of Mississippi.

Powell Clayton was born in Pennsylvania in 1833. Educated in the common schools and in an academy in Bristol, Pa., studied civil engineering and was chosen engineer and surveyor of Leavenworth, Kans. Entered the national army as captain in the First Kansas Infantry in May, 1861, became colonel of the Fifth Kansas Cavalry, commanded a successful expedition from Helena, Ark., to the White River to break up a band of guerrillas and destroy Confederate stores, and later an expedition from Pine Bluff in March, 1864, which inflicted severe loss on the enemy. In August, 1864, he was commissioned a brigadier-general. He settled in Arkansas as planter after the war, was elected governor in 1868, was a United States senator from 1871 to 1877.

John R. Lynch was born in Louisiana in 1847. He was a mulatto and was not born a slave, but after his father's death the administrator of the estate held his mother in bondage. When a child he was carried with his mother to Natchez, Miss., where he continued to reside after he obtained his freedom on the occupation of the city by national troops. He had received no previous training, but, by attending a night school for a few months, and afterward studying privately, he obtained a good English education. He engaged in the business of photography until 1869, when he was appointed a justice of the peace. He was elected to the legislature in the same year, and re-elected and chosen speaker in 1871. In 1872 he was sent to congress, and re-elected for the following term. In 1876 he was again a candidate, and his friends claimed that he was elected, but James R. Chalmers obtained the seat. In 1878 he defeated General Chalmers and in 1880 was defeated by the Democratic candidate.

There was a long discussion over the motion of Mr. Lodge, participated in by Henry Cabot Lodge, William W. Morrow, George William Curtis, Roswell G. Horr, Theodore Roosevelt, Clark E. Carr, John M. Thurston and others. A roll call was demanded and resulted as follows:

Whole number of votes cast .....	808
John R. Lynch .....	424
Powell Clayton .....	384
<hr/>	
Majority for Lynch .....	40

Connecticut voted 6 for Clayton and 6 for Lynch.

The chair appointed Powell Clayton, Henry Cabot Lodge and W. N. Taft of South Carolina a committee to escort Mr. Lynch to the chair. Mr. Lynch made a brief address, which was well received by the convention.

The various committees were then appointed. Those from Connecticut were:

On Credentials—Eugene S. Boss.

On Permanent Organization—Samuel E. Merwin, Jr.

On Resolutions—John L. Houston.

On Rules and Order of Business—Ebenezer J. Hill.

After a brief discussion upon the revision of the apportionment of delegates to future National Conventions and one or two minor matters, the convention adjourned until Wednesday at 11 o'clock A. M.

The convention reassembled at 11 o'clock A. M. on Wednesday (the second day). Prayer was offered by Rev. John H. Barrows.

A temperance memorial from the Maryland State Tem-



perance Alliance was presented by Mr. Gary and referred to the committee on resolutions.

A resolution on land ownership was introduced by Mr. Plumb and also referred to the committee on resolutions.

S. W. Hawkins of Tennessee offered the following resolution:

*Resolved*, As the sense of this convention, that every member of it is bound in honor to support its nominee, whoever that nominee may be; and that no man should hold a seat here who is not ready to so agree.

This was the same resolution that was introduced in the 1880 convention and caused such an exciting discussion on account of three delegates from West Virginia voting against it. It was General Garfield's speech in opposition that aroused so much enthusiasm in the convention and caused Senator Conkling to withdraw the resolution, rather than have it defeated. This convention (of 1884) was apparently no more friendly to the resolution of Mr. Hawkins than was that of 1880 to the resolution of Senator Conkling. It was discussed by several of the delegates, among them Mr. Hawkins and Mr. Knight in favor and Mr. Pierce and George William Curtis in opposition. Mr. Curtis said:

A Republican and a free man, I came into this convention. By the grace of God, a Republican and a free man, I will go out of this convention. Twenty-four years ago I was here in Chicago. Twenty-four years ago I took part with the men of this country who nominated the man who bears the most illustrious name in the Republican party, and the brightest ray in whose halo of glory and immortality is that he was the great emancipator. In that convention, sir, a resolution was offered in amendment of the platform. It introduced

into that platform certain words from the Declaration of Independence. That amendment was voted down in that convention, and Joshua R. Giddings of Ohio, rose from his seat and was passing out of the convention. As he went, he passed by my chair, and I reached out my hand. I was well nigh a boy and unknown to him. I said, "Sir, where are you going?" He said to me, "Young man, I am going out of this convention for I find there is no place in a Republican convention for an original anti-slavery man like me." Well, gentlemen, he yielded to persuasion and took his seat, and before that convention proceeded to its nominations, by a universal roar of assent, the Republican party there assembled declared without one word of doubt or dissent, that no sound should ever be heard in a Republican convention that in the slightest degree reflected upon the honor or upon the loyalty of the men who took part in that convention. The gentleman last upon the floor (Mr. Knight) says that he dares any man upon this floor to vote against that resolution. I say to him in reply that the presentation of such a resolution in such a convention as this is a stigma, is an insult to every honorable member who sits here. Ah, Mr. Chairman, this question is not a new question. In precisely, if I do not mistake, the same terms in which this is couched, it was brought into the last Republican convention. And a man from West Virginia—I honor his name—that man in the face of the roar of the gallery; in the face of all dissent—Mr. Campbell of West Virginia—said: "Hold! I am a Republican who carries my sovereignty under his own hat." Now, Mr. Chairman, Mr. Campbell's position in that convention, the wise reflection and the afterthought of the Republican convention of 1880, under the lead of that great and immortal leader, whose face confronts us here—James A. Garfield of Ohio—under the lead of Garfield, I remind my friend from California, the convention in taking its action, induced the gentleman who presented the resolution to withdraw the resolution from the consideration of the convention. Now, sir, in the light of the character of the Republican party, in the light of the action of the last

Republican convention, the first convention which I have known in which such a pledge was required of candidates or the members, I ask this convention—mindful of all that hangs upon the wisdom, the moderation, the tolerance, the patriotism of our action—I beg this convention to remember Lincoln, to remember Garfield, to remember the very vital principles of the Republican party, and assume that every man here is an honest and an honorable man, and vote down this resolution, which should never have appeared in a Republican convention, as unworthy to be ratified by this convention of free men that I see before me.

The remarks of Mr. Curtis aroused great cheering. Mr. Dolph of Oregon moved to lay the resolution on the table, whereupon Mr. Hawkins withdrew the resolution.

George B. Williams of Indiana, the chairman of the committee on permanent organization, presented the report of that committee. John B. Henderson of Missouri was named for permanent president, and a vice-president and secretary for each state and territory. Frederick Miles was named for vice-president for Connecticut and Luzerne I. Munson for secretary.

The chairman appointed as the committee to conduct the permanent president to the chair, Galusha A. Grow, George F. Hoar and George B. Williams.

John B. Henderson was born in Virginia in 1826. He removed with his parents to Missouri in 1836, spent his early days on a farm and taught while receiving his education. He then studied law, was admitted to the bar in 1848, and in that year and in 1856 was elected to the legislature, originating the state railroad and banking laws in 1857. He was a presidential elector in 1856 and 1860 and opposed Pierce's administration after the President's message on the Kansas question. Mr. Henderson was a delegate to the Charleston Democratic convention of 1860, and to the state convention of 1861, to

determine whether Missouri should secede. In June, 1861, he equipped a regiment of state militia, which he commanded for a time. On the expulsion of Truett Polk from the United States senate, in 1862, he, being then a Republican, was appointed to fill the vacancy, and in 1863 he was elected to the full term ending in 1869, serving as chairman on the committee on Indian affairs. He was one of the seven Republican senators whose votes defeated the impeachment of Andrew Johnson.

Mr. Henderson addressed the convention briefly. The convention took a recess until 7 o'clock P. M. On the reassembling of the convention, a resolution passed providing for the distribution of tickets of admission to the hall to veteran soldiers, and after the transaction of some minor business, the convention adjourned until Thursday, June 5.

On the reassembling of the convention on Thursday (the third day) prayer was offered by Rev. Dr. Fallows. The committee on credentials reported through its chairman, Henry Ballard of Vermont. J. Franklin Fort (later governor of New Jersey) read the report. The report was adopted without discussion, although there had been many contests.

W. H. Parks of California, chairman of the committee on rules and order of business, then presented the report of the committee. A minority report was also presented, signed by eight members, including Ebenezer J. Hill of Connecticut.

There was a lengthy discussion upon the two reports, which provided for the appointment of a national committee and also prescribed the method for the election

of the delegates to the next National Convention. Among those taking part in the discussion were: Messrs. Grow, Thurston, Bayne, Houck, Roosevelt, Hoar, Gardiner, Bradley, Bishop, Lynch, Warner, Townsend, West, Filley and Clayton. The minority report was finally withdrawn and the majority report adopted.

The committee on resolutions then reported, through its chairman, William McKinley, Jr., the platform, which was unanimously adopted.

#### THE PLATFORM.

The Republicans of the United States in National Convention assembled, renew their allegiance to the principles upon which they have triumphed in six successive Presidential elections; and congratulate the American people on the attainment of so many results in legislation and administration, by which the Republican party has, after saving the Union, done so much to render its institutions just, equal and beneficent, the safeguard of liberty and the embodiment of the best thought and highest purposes of our citizens.

The Republican party has gained its strength by quick and faithful response to the demands of the people for the freedom and equality of all men; for a united nation, assuring the rights of all citizens; for the elevation of labor; for an honest currency; for purity in legislation and for integrity and accountability in all departments of the government, and it accepts anew the duty of leading in the work of progress and reform.

We lament the death of President Garfield, whose sound statesmanship, long conspicuous in congress, gave promise of a strong and successful administration; a promise fully realized during the short period of his office as President of the United States. His distinguished services in war and peace have endeared him to the hearts of the American people.

In the administration of President Arthur, we recognize a wise, conservative and patriotic policy, under which the coun-

try has been blessed with remarkable prosperity; and we believe his eminent services are entitled to and will receive the hearty approval of every citizen.

It is the first duty of a good government to protect the rights and promote the interests of its own people.

The largest diversity of industry is most productive of general prosperity and of the comfort and independence of the people.

We, therefore, demand that the imposition of duties on foreign imports shall be made, not "for revenue only," but that in raising the requisite revenues for the government, such duties shall be so levied as to afford security to our diversified industries and protection to the rights and wages of the laborer; to the end that active and intelligent labor, as well as capital, may have its just reward, and the laboring man his full share in the national prosperity.

Against the so-called economic system of the Democratic party, which would degrade our labor to the foreign standard, we enter our earnest protest.

The Democratic party has failed completely to relieve the people of the burden of unnecessary taxation by a wise reduction of the surplus.

The Republican party pledges itself to correct the inequalities of the tariff, and to reduce the surplus, not by the vicious and indiscriminate process of horizontal reduction, but by such methods as will relieve the taxpayer without injuring the labor or the great productive interests of the country.

We recognize the importance of sheep husbandry in the United States, the serious depression which it is now experiencing, and the danger threatening its future prosperity; and we, therefore, respect the demands of the representatives of this important agricultural interest for a readjustment of duties upon foreign wool, in order that such industry shall have full and adequate protection.

We have always recommended the best money known to the civilized world; and we urge that efforts should be made to unite all commercial nations in the establishment of an inter-

national standard which shall fix for all the relative value of gold and silver coinage.

The regulation of commerce with foreign nations and between the states, is one of the most important prerogatives of the general government; and the Republican party distinctly announces its purpose to support such legislation as will fully and efficiently carry out the constitutional power of congress over inter-state commerce.

The principle of public regulation of railway corporations is a wise and salutary one for the protection of all classes of the people; and we favor legislation that shall prevent unjust discrimination and excessive charges for transportation, and that shall secure to the people, and the railways alike, the fair and equal protection of the laws.

We favor the establishment of a national bureau of labor; the enforcement of the eight hour law; a wise and judicious system of general education by adequate appropriation from the national revenues, wherever the same is needed. We believe that everywhere the protection to a citizen of American birth must be secured to citizens by American adoption; and we favor the settlement of national differences by international arbitration.

The Republican party, having its birth in a hatred of slave labor and a desire that all men may be truly free and equal, is unalterably opposed to placing our workingmen in competition with any form of servile labor, whether at home or abroad. In this spirit, we denounce the importation of contract labor, whether from Europe or Asia, as an offense against the spirit of American institutions; and we pledge ourselves to sustain the present law restricting Chinese immigration, and to provide such further legislation as is necessary to carry out its purposes.

Reform of the civil service, auspiciously begun under Republican administration, should be completed by the further extension of the reform system already established by law, to all the grades of the service to which it is applicable. The spirit and purpose of the reform should be observed in all

executive appointments; and all laws at variance with the object of existing reform legislation should be repealed, to the end that the dangers to free institutions, which lurk in the power of official patronage, may be wisely and effectively avoided.

The public lands are a heritage of the people of the United States, and should be reserved as far as possible for small holdings by actual settlers. We are opposed to the acquisition of large tracts of these lands by corporations or individuals, especially where such holdings are in the hands of non-resident aliens. And we will endeavor to obtain such legislation as will tend to correct this evil. We demand of congress the speedy forfeiture of all land grants which have lapsed by reason of non-compliance with acts of incorporation, in all cases where there has been no attempt in good faith to perform the conditions of such grants.

The grateful thanks of the American people are due to the Union soldiers and sailors of the late war; and the Republican party stands pledged to suitable pensions for all who were disabled, and for the widows and orphans of those who died in the war. The Republican party also pledges itself to the repeal of the limitation contained in the arrears act of 1879. So that all invalid soldiers shall share alike, and their pensions begin with the date of disability or discharge, and not with the date of application.

The Republican party favors a policy which shall keep us from entangling alliances with foreign nations, and which gives us the right to expect that foreign nations shall refrain from meddling in American affairs; a policy which seeks peace and trade with all powers, but especially with those of the Western Hemisphere.

We demand the restoration of our navy to its old-time strength and efficiency, that it may in any sea protect the rights of American citizens and the interests of American commerce; and we call upon congress to remove the burdens under which American shipping has been depressed, so that it may again be true that we have a commerce which leaves



no sea unexplored, and a navy which takes no law from superior force.

That appointments by the President to offices in the territories should be made from the bona fide citizens and residents of the territories wherein they are to serve.

That it is the duty of congress to enact such laws as shall promptly and effectually suppress the system of polygamy within our territories; and divorce the political from the ecclesiastical power of the so-called Mormon church; and that the laws so enacted should be rigidly enforced by the civil authorities, if possible, and by the military, if need be.

The people of the United States, in their organized capacity, constitute a nation, and not a mere confederacy of states; the national government is supreme within the sphere of its national duties; but the states have reserved rights which should be faithfully maintained; each should be guarded with jealous care, so that the harmony of our system of government may be preserved and the Union kept inviolate.

The perpetuity of our institutions rest upon the maintenance of a free ballot, an honest count, and correct returns. We denounce the fraud and violence practiced by the Democracy in the Southern states, by which the will of the voter is defeated, as dangerous to the preservation of free institutions; and we solemnly arraign the Democratic party as being the guilty recipient of fruits of such fraud and violence.

We extend to the Republicans of the South, regardless of former party affiliations, our cordial sympathy; and pledge to them our most earnest efforts to promote the passage of such legislation as will secure to every citizen, of whatever race and color, the full and complete recognition, possession and exercise of all civil and political rights.

After the adoption of the platform the roll of states was called and names presented as members of the national committee. Connecticut named Samuel Fessenden. The committee later organized and chose B. F. Jones of Pennsylvania as chairman, and Samuel Fessen

den of Connecticut as secretary. The convention then took a recess until 7 o'clock P. M.

On the reassembling of the convention, in the evening, the president announced that "under the rules adopted, the order of business now is the presentation of candidates for President."

The secretary then began the call of the roll of states. There was no response until Connecticut was reached, when Mr. Brandegee came forward to the platform, and was introduced by the president amid much applause. Mr. Brandegee made an eloquent address in presenting the name of General Joseph R. Hawley.

When the state of Illinois was reached, Mr. Cullom came to the platform, amid great applause, and presented the name of General John A. Logan.

The roll was again called, but without any response, until Maine was reached, when W. H. West of Ohio, who was blind, arose for the purpose of nominating James G. Blaine, which he did in an eloquent speech. The applause and cheering lasted several minutes. Cushman K. Davis of Minnesota, William Cassius Goodloe of Kentucky, Thomas C. Platt of New York and Galusha A. Grow of Pennsylvania, seconded the nomination of Mr. Blaine.

When New York was called, Martin I. Townsend arose for the purpose of nominating Chester A. Arthur. His speech aroused great enthusiasm in the convention. The nomination was seconded by Henry H. Bingham of Pennsylvania, John R. Lynch of Mississippi, P. H. Winston of North Carolina, and P. B. S. Pinchback of Louisiana. The name of John Sherman was presented by

Joseph B. Foraker and seconded by William H. Holt of Kentucky.

The secretary then again proceeded with the call of the states. When Vermont was called, ex-Governor John D. Long of Massachusetts came forward to the platform and was greeted with loud applause. He presented the name of George F. Edmunds. The nomination was seconded by George William Curtis.

There was a lengthy discussion upon the question of adjournment until the following day, participated in by many delegates. On a call of the states the motion to adjourn was lost by a vote of ayes 391, noes 410. Connecticut voted 12 no. A short discussion followed, when the convention adjourned at 1:45 o'clock (Friday morning) until 11 o'clock.

The convention reassembled on Friday (the fourth day) at 11 o'clock A. M. Prayer was offered by Rev. Henry Martyn Scudder. The balloting for a candidate for President then began and the roll of states called. The vote of several states was questioned and the delegates polled. The result of the first ballot was as follows:

Whole number of delegates .....	820
Necessary to a choice .....	411
Whole number of votes cast .....	818
James G. Blaine .....	334½
Chester A. Arthur .....	278
George F. Edmunds .....	93
John A. Logan .....	63½
John Sherman .....	30
Joseph R. Hawley .....	13
Robert T. Lincoln .....	4
W. T. Sherman .....	2

Connecticut voted 12 for Hawley. The second and subsequent ballots were as follows:

	2d	3d	4th
Blaine .....	349	375	541
Arthur .....	276	274	207
Edmunds .....	85	69	41
Logan .....	61	53	7
Sherman .....	28	25	
Hawley .....	13	13	15
Lincoln .....	4	8	2
W. T. Sherman .....	3	2	

Connecticut cast its entire vote (12) for Hawley on every ballot.

After the third ballot a motion was made to take a recess, but was lost. The vote stood: Ayes 364, noes 450. Connecticut voted 12 no.

Mr. Foraker then moved that the rules of the convention be suspended and that James G. Blaine be nominated by acclamation. The motion was loudly cheered. It was opposed by Mr. Roosevelt and others, and, in order, Mr. Foraker said, to save the time of the convention, he withdrew the motion.

Mr. Cullom announced that he had received a telegram from General Logan instructing him to withdraw his name from the convention. He did so, and announced the vote of Illinois as Blaine 34, Logan 7 and Arthur 3. There was loud cheering and great confusion in the convention.

The secretary then announced the result of the fourth ballot, which gave Blaine 541 votes, 130 more than necessary to nominate him. The announcement of the vote caused a scene of the wildest excitement, the cheering and applause continuing for several minutes.

Mr. Burleigh of New York, in behalf of the President of the United States (Chester A. Arthur) moved to make the nomination of Mr. Blaine unanimous.

Mr. Sabin of Minnesota seconded the motion and it was carried unanimously, amid great cheering.

The secretary said: "I have been requested to read to the convention the following telegraphic dispatch:

The President has sent the following dispatch to Mr. Blaine:

WASHINGTON, D. C., June 6, 1884.

*To the Hon. James G. Blaine, Augusta, Me.:*

As the candidate of the Republican party you will have my earnest and cordial support.

CHESTER A. ARTHUR.

The convention then took a recess until 8 o'clock. The evening session was opened with prayer by Rev. Dr. O'Reilly of Detroit. The roll of the states was then called for the nomination of a candidate for Vice-President.

When Illinois was called P. B. Plumb of Kansas came forward and presented the name of John A. Logan. The nomination was seconded by Mr. Houck of Tennessee, Mr. Thurston of Nebraska, Mr. Lee of Pennsylvania, Mr. Horr of Michigan, Mr. Bradley of Kentucky, and others. The roll of states was called and the ballot resulted as follows:

Whole number of delegates .....	820
Necessary to a choice .....	411
Whole number of votes cast .....	780
John A. Logan .....	773
Walter Q. Gresham .....	6
J. B. Foraker .....	1

The nomination of General Logan was then made unanimous.

A committee of one from each state and territory was then appointed by the president to notify the candidates of their respective nominations. Samuel Fessenden was named for Connecticut.

A resolution was passed thanking the national committee for the excellent provision made for the convention; the citizens of Chicago for the cordial hospitality extended to the members, and to the president of the convention for his uniform and unfailing courtesy and efficiency.

The convention at 9:45 P. M. June 6 was declared adjourned sine die.

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The committee of notification met in Augusta, Me., on Saturday, June 21, and on the shady lawn of Mr. Blaine's residence notified him of his nomination, the address being made by Mr. Henderson of Missouri. Mr. Blaine responded in a brief speech of acceptance.

The committee met at Washington, D. C., June 24, to present the formal address to General Logan. Mr. Henderson presented the address and General Logan made a brief response.

Mr. Blaine sent his formal letter of acceptance to the committee on July 15, and General Logan's followed on July 21.

Having in a previous paper given a sketch of Mr. Blaine's political career, it is unnecessary to refer to it here, except to say that from the time he was a delegate to the first Republican National Convention in 1856, at

the age of 26, and one of its secretaries, and later, in the Maine legislature and a member of Congress, he was one of the leading Republicans of the country, and had a host of admirers.

JOHN A. LOGAN.

John A. Logan was born in Illinois in 1826. He was educated at a common school and under a private tutor. Later he attended Shiloh College. When war with Mexico was declared, he volunteered as a private, but was soon chosen a lieutenant in the First Illinois Infantry. He did good service as a soldier, and for some time was acting quartermaster of his regiment. After his return from Mexico he began the study of law. In 1851 he was graduated at Louisville University and admitted to the bar. He was a member of the legislature in 1852 and again in 1856. He was then a Democrat and a presidential elector in 1856 on the Buchanan and Breckenridge ticket. In 1858 he was elected to congress from Illinois as a Douglas Democrat and was re-elected in 1860. In the presidential campaign of that year he earnestly advocated the election of Stephen A. Douglas, but on the first intimation of coming trouble from the South, he declared that in the event of the election of Abraham Lincoln he would "shoulder his musket to have him inaugurated." He enlisted in 1861 and had a most brilliant career in the army, participating in many battles. He served until the close of the war, having been a colonel, a brigadier-general and a major-general. During General Grant's northern Mississippi campaign, General Logan commanded the Third Division of the Seventh Army Corps under General McPherson. In the siege of Vicksburg he commanded McPherson's center. His column was the first to enter the captured city, and he was appointed its military governor. He succeeded General Sherman in the command of the Fifteenth Army Corps. In 1864 he succeeded General McPherson, who had been killed, and commanded the Army of the Tennessee. After the fall of Atlanta, September 1, he went home and took an active part

in the presidential election of that year, which resulted in the re-election of President Lincoln. In 1866 he was again elected a representative from Illinois in congress, and was elected a United States senator in 1871.

The campaign that followed the nomination of Blaine and Logan was one of peculiar bitterness. Mr. Blaine took the stump in Ohio, Indiana, New York and other states, and in a series of remarkable speeches chiefly devoted to upholding the policy of protection to American industry, deepened the popular impression of his intellectual power. The election turned upon the result in New York, which was lost to Mr. Blaine by 1,047 votes. Many unfortunate incidents occurred during the last week of the campaign which undoubtedly brought about a result which was such a keen disappointment to the Republican party.

The Democratic party in their convention, which met at Chicago, July 8, nominated Grover Cleveland, then governor of New York, for President, and Thomas A. Hendricks of Indiana, for Vice-President. In the election, Cleveland received 219 electoral votes and Blaine 182. In the popular vote Cleveland received 4,874,986, Blaine 4,851,981.

Grover Cleveland was inaugurated President of the United States on March 4, 1885, as the successor to Chester A. Arthur.





**THE NINTH  
REPUBLICAN NATIONAL  
CONVENTION**



BENJAMIN HARRISON

REPUBLICAN  
CANDIDATES

1888



LEVI P. MORTON

THE NINTH REPUBLICAN NATIONAL CONVENTION  
HELD AT CHICAGO, ILL., JUNE 19-25, 1888

*For President*—BENJAMIN HARRISON, of Indiana

*For Vice-President*—LEVI P. MORTON, of New York

The ninth Republican National Convention assembled in Chicago in June, 1888. Grover Cleveland had been President of the United States over three years, and, as congress had then a Republican majority, the Democratic party was unable to carry out any legislation of a partisan character.

For several months prior to the assembling of the convention the names of a number of candidates for the nomination were discussed in the press and among the Republicans of the country. Those prominently mentioned were : James G. Blaine, John Sherman, Walter Q. Gresham, Benjamin Harrison, William B. Allison and Russell A. Alger.

Mr. Blaine was then in Europe and his acceptance of a renomination was considered very doubtful. Yet he still had a host of warm friends and admirers in the party

who would have been only too glad to have him again chosen as the standard bearer. John Sherman was considered the leading candidate, provided Mr. Blaine should not again be in the field. He was recognized as one of the most prominent statesmen in the country, and in every way qualified for the exalted position.

Walter Q. Gresham, then a United States circuit judge, had been a lawyer in Indiana prior to the Civil War and was elected to the legislature of that state in 1860, which position he resigned in August, 1861, to become lieutenant-colonel of the Thirty-eighth Indiana Regiment. He was promoted to colonel of the Fifty-third Indiana in December, and on August 11, 1863, after the fall of Vicksburg, was made a brigadier-general of volunteers. He commanded the Fourth division of Blair's corps in the fighting before Atlanta, and received a severe wound that disabled him for a year and prevented him from seeing further service. On March 13, 1865, he was brevetted major-general of volunteers, for his gallantry at Atlanta. In 1869 President Grant made him United States judge for the district of Indiana. He was in 1882 appointed postmaster-general in President Arthur's cabinet, and on the death of Secretary Folger, was transferred to the treasury portfolio, and later again became a circuit judge and resided at Chicago.

Benjamin Harrison had been actively engaged in politics since 1860, when he was nominated and elected to the office of reporter of the supreme court of Indiana. He resigned that office in 1862, and assisted in raising the Seventieth Indiana Regiment in which he was made second lieutenant. Governor Morton later appointed him colonel of the regiment. His career in the army was a brilliant one. He participated in many important battles, where his gallantry won the commendation of his superior officers. The brevet of brigadier-general of volunteers was conferred upon him to date from January 23, 1865. He returned, after the close of the war, to

his home and was again elected reporter of the supreme court. After his term of office had expired he took an active part in every state and presidential election, being the Republican candidate for governor in 1876. He was defeated by about 5,000 votes, running 2,000 ahead of his ticket. In 1880 he was chosen United States senator and served from 1881 to 1887.

William B. Allison of Iowa, was born in Ohio, March 2, 1829. He spent his early years on a farm and was educated at Alleghany College, Pennsylvania, and Western Reserve College, Ohio. He studied law and practiced in Ohio until 1857, when he went to Dubuque, Iowa. He was a delegate to the Chicago National Convention of 1860, and a member of the Governor's staff in 1861, and rendered valuable service in raising troops for the war. He was elected in 1862 to the thirty-eighth congress as a Republican, and returned for the three succeeding congresses, serving from 1863 to 1871. In 1873 he was elected to the United States senate where he has remained by succeeding re-elections until his death.

Russell A. Alger of Michigan had rendered gallant service during the Civil War. After the war he returned to Michigan and engaged in the lumber business, where he amassed a large fortune. He later became governor of the state, having been elected by a large majority. He was personally very popular, especially with the Grand Army, and had many prominent and active supporters for the nomination to the presidency.

Besides the candidates already named, there were several others mentioned who were considered more or less in the "dark horse" class. Among these were General Hawley, Robert T. Lincoln, and Jeremiah M. Rusk, then governor of Wisconsin.

Chauncey M. Depew's name had not been mentioned prominently in the preliminary canvass for the nomina-

tion, but was brought forward in the early sessions of the convention by the New York delegation.

The Connecticut delegates and alternates to the convention were as follows:

#### AT LARGE.

Samuel Fessenden, Stamford; alternate, Frederick Miles, Salisbury.

Samuel L. Warner, Middletown; alternate, Leverett M. Hubbard, Wallingford.

Erastus S. Day, Colchester; alternate, John McCormick, New London.

E. Stevens Henry, Rockville; alternate, Edward C. Frisbie, Hartford.

#### DISTRICT.

First—Luther Spencer, Hartford; alternate, Thomas S. Duncan, Poquonnock. Julius Converse, Stafford Springs; alternate, F. H. Underwood, Tolland.

Second—N. D. Sperry, New Haven; alternate, Edward T. Turner, Waterbury. Oscar Leach, Durham; alternate, M. W. Potter, Deep River.

Third—Thomas H. Allen, Baltic; alternate, Horace Trumbull, Stonington. G. D. Bates, Putnam; alternate, T. E. Hopkins, Killingly.

Fourth—H. R. Parrott, Bridgeport; alternate, F. A. Mason, Bridgeport. A. T. Roraback, Canaan; alternate, W. B. Rudd, Salisbury.

Samuel Fessenden had been a delegate to the conventions of 1876 and 1880, and alternate for Frederick Miles in 1884.

Most of the delegates and alternates were, or became, prominent in Connecticut politics.

Samuel L. Warner was a member of congress from the Second District, 1865-1867.

Erastus S. Day was chairman of the state committee and was later consul at Bradford, Eng.

E. Stevens Henry was state treasurer, 1889-1893, and member of congress from the First District from 1895 to the present time.

N. D. Sperry was for many years postmaster at New Haven, and has been member of congress from the Second District from 1895 to the present time.

A. T. Roraback has been a judge of the superior court from 1897 and is now on the supreme bench.

The convention assembled in the Auditorium on Tuesday, June 19, and was called to order at 12:30 P. M. by Hon. B. F. Jones, chairman of the national committee. Prayer was offered by Rev. Frank W. Gunsaulus of Chicago. The secretary, Samuel Fessenden, read the call for the convention. The chairman then made an address and at the close, at the request of the national committee, proposed as temporary chairman of the convention John M. Thurston of Nebraska.

Mr. Thurston was born in Montpelier, Vt., in 1847. In 1854 his family removed to Wisconsin. He was graduated at Wayland University in 1867, studied law, was admitted to the bar in 1869, and in the same year removed to Omaha, Neb. He was appointed city attorney in 1874, and, while holding that office, was elected in 1875 to the legislature, in which he acted as chairman of the judiciary committee. He resigned the attorneyship in 1877 to become assistant attorney of the Union Pacific Railroad Company, of which he became general attorney in 1888. He was a presidential elector in 1880, and in 1884 chairman of the delegation to the National Republican Convention. He was again at the head of the delegation in 1888. Mr. Thurston, on taking the chair, delivered an able and eloquent address which, with his massive voice, won him a national reputation as an orator.

The rules of the last Republican national committee were then adopted until the organization could be perfected.

A resolution of sympathy with General Sheridan in his illness was adopted by a rising vote; also a resolution for the distribution of tickets of admission to the convention to ex-Union soldiers. General John C. Fremont, the first Republican candidate for President of the United States, was then presented to the convention, amid great applause. General Fremont made a brief address. Frederick Douglass was then called for and responded in a short address.

The usual committees were then named by the different states and territories. Those for Connecticut were as follows:

- On Permanent Organization—Samuel L. Warner.
- On Credentials—Erastus S. Day.
- On Resolutions—N. D. Sperry.
- On Rules and Order of Business—A. T. Roraback.

There was then a spirited and somewhat lengthy discussion upon the Virginia contest for seats in the convention, participated in by John S. Wise, George F. Hoar, William Mahone and others.

After passing a resolution that all papers referring to contests for seats in the convention be referred to the committee on credentials, the convention adjourned until Wednesday, at 12 o'clock.

The convention reassembled at 12 o'clock on Wednesday (the second day). Prayer was offered by Rev. Mr. Northrup.



Charles Foster of Ohio, chairman of the committee on permanent organization, read their report naming Morris M. Estee of California for permanent president, and a vice-president and secretary for each state and territory.

I. Luther Spencer was named for vice-president for Connecticut, and Henry R. Parrott for secretary.

Mr. Estee, upon taking the chair, made a brief address. Mr. Estee had been prominent in politics in California for many years and was a man of marked ability as well as an eloquent speaker.

The committee on rules and order of business then reported, through the chairman, Mr. Bayne of Pennsylvania. There was a lengthy discussion upon the report, participated in by Senator Hoar, Mr. Butterworth of Ohio, Mr. Boutelle of Maine, Mr. Filley of Missouri, Mr. Bayne, Mr. Taft of South Carolina, Mr. Haymond of California, Mr. Husted of New York, and others, after which the convention adjourned until 8 o'clock P. M.

At the evening session a resolution of regret was passed by a rising vote at the loss by death since the last National Convention of Ulysses S. Grant, John A. Logan, Chester A. Arthur and Roscoe Conkling.

Addresses were then made by William O. Bradley of Kentucky and Joseph B. Foraker of Ohio, for whom there had been loud calls by the delegates.

W. P. Hepburn of Iowa, chairman of the committee on credentials, then presented the report of the committee. A minority report signed by seven members was presented by D. L. Russell of North Carolina. After a protracted discussion, participated in by many promi-

nent delegates, in which the Virginia contest chiefly figured, the minority report was defeated by a vote of 249½ to 514. Connecticut voted twelve against the minority report. The majority report was adopted. It seated William Mahone, John M. Langston, John S. Wise and H. H. Riddleberger among other Virginia delegates.

The list of delegates to the convention comprised many of the most prominent and influential men of the party throughout the country. Among them were Frank Hiscock, Warner Miller, Thomas C. Platt, Chauncey M. Depew, T. L. Woodruff, William H. Robertson, James W. Husted, Francis Hendricks, George B. Sloan, J. S. Fassett, John W. Dwight and Frank W. Higgins of New York; W. J. Sewell, John W. Griggs, George A. Halsey and John I. Blair of New Jersey; Joseph B. Foraker, William McKinley, Jr., Charles Foster, Benjamin Butterworth, Myron T. Herrick and M. A. Hanna of Ohio; M. S. Quay, D. H. Hastings, Henry W. Oliver, H. H. Bingham, Edwin B. Stuart, James McManes, Frank Reeder and C. L. Magee of Pennsylvania; Charles B. Farwell, George R. Davis, John A. Roche, Leonard Swett and Horace S. Clark of Illinois; Albert G. Porter, Richard W. Thompson, James N. Huston, Clem. Studebaker and J. W. Crumpacker of Indiana; D. B. Henderson, J. S. Clarkson, J. P. Dolliver, G. D. Perkins, W. P. Hepburn and J. F. Wilson of Iowa; William O. Bradley, John W. Lewis, W. J. Deboe, A. E. Willson and William Cassius Goodloe of Kentucky; William Pitt Kellogg, P. B. S. Pinchback, James Lewis and H. C. Warmouth of Louisiana; George F. Hoar, Alanson W. Beard, Frederick L. Burden, Jonathan Bourne, Charles

J. Noyes, Samuel W. McCall and William Cogswell of Massachusetts; R. E. Fraser, H. M. Duffield, R. G. Horr, J. K. Boies and W. Q. Atwood of Michigan; Powell Clayton and Logan H. Roots of Arkansas; Morris Estee, John F. Swift, Creed Haymond, Henry T. Gage, Charles F. Crocker and M. H. De Young of California; Samuel Fessenden, Samuel L. Warner, E. Stevens Henry, N. D. Sperry and A. T. Roraback of Connecticut; Thomas A. Osborn, Cyrus Leland and C. C. Curtis of Kansas; Joseph H. Manley, Charles A. Boutelle and Charles H. Prescott of Maine; Adam E. King, James A. Gary and George L. Wellington of Maryland; Frank F. Davis, C. G. Hartley and M. S. Chandler of Minnesota; John R. Lynch and James Hill of Mississippi; Chauncey I. Filley, William Warner and D. P. Dyer of Missouri; John M. Thurston, Patrick Egan and Charles Green of Nebraska; William M. Stewart, John P. Jones and W. E. Sharon of Nevada; John C. Spooner, Henry C. Payne, H. O. Fairchild, H. C. Adams and Charles A. Chapin of Wisconsin; Redfield Proctor, J. G. McCullough, J. J. Estey and H. C. Ide of Vermont; L. C. Houck, George Maney and A. A. Taylor of Tennessee; W. N. Taft, E. M. Brayton and Robert Small of South Carolina; Fred L. Marcy, William R. Walker, Melville Bull and Benjamin M. Bosworth of Rhode Island; Thomas N. Cooper, James H. Harris and John C. Darcey of North Carolina; Person C. Cheney; Jacob H. Gallinger and Alfred T. Batchelder of New Hampshire, and A. E. Buck, R. D. Locke and W. J. White of Georgia. After the adoption of the report of the committee on credentials the convention adjourned until 10 o'clock Thursday morning.

On the reassembling of the convention on Thursday (the third day) prayer was offered by Rev. Thomas E. Green.

The names of the members of the new national committee were then announced. Connecticut again named Samuel Fessenden. The committee later chose Hon. James S. Clarkson of Iowa as chairman, and J. Sloat Fassett of New York as secretary.

The report of the committee on resolutions was then presented by William McKinley, Jr., chairman of the committee. The report was unanimously adopted by a rising vote, amid great cheering.

#### THE PLATFORM.

The Republicans of the United States assembled by their delegates in National Convention, pause on the threshold of their proceedings to honor the memory of their first great leader—the immortal champion of liberty and the rights of the people—Abraham Lincoln; and to cover also with wreaths of imperishable remembrance and gratitude the heroic name of our later leaders who have been more recently called away from our councils—Grant, Garfield, Arthur, Logan, Conkling. May their memories be faithfully cherished!

We also recall with our greetings, and with prayer for his recovery, the name of one of our living heroes, whose memory will be treasured in the history both of Republicans and of the Republic—the name of that noble soldier and favorite child of victory, Philip H. Sheridan. In the spirit of those great leaders and of our own devotion to human liberty, and with that hostility to all forms of despotism and oppression which is the fundamental idea of the Republican party, we send fraternal congratulations to our fellow Americans of Brazil upon their great act of emancipation, which completed the abolition of slavery throughout the two American continents. We earnestly hope that we may soon congratulate our fellow-citizens of Irish birth upon the peaceful recovery of home rule for Ireland.

We reaffirm our unswerving devotion to the National Constitution and the indissoluble Union of the States; to the autonomy reserved to the states under the Constitution; the personal rights and liberties of citizens in all the states and territories in the Union, and especially to the supreme and sovereign right of every lawful citizen, rich or poor, native or foreign born, white or black, to cast one free ballot in public elections, and to have that ballot duly counted. We hold the free and honest popular ballot and the just and equal representation of all the people to be the foundation of our Republican government, and demand effective legislation to secure the integrity and purity of elections, which are the fountains of all public authority. We charge that the present administration and the Democratic majority in congress owe their existence to the suppression of the ballot by a criminal nullification of the Constitution and laws of the United States.

We are uncompromisingly in favor of the American system of protection; we protest against its destruction as proposed by the President and his party. They serve the interests of Europe; we will support the interests of America. We accept the issue, and confidently appeal to the people for their judgment. The protective system must be maintained. Its abandonment has always been followed by general disaster to all interests, except those of the usurer and the sheriff. We denounce the Mills bill as destructive to the general business, the labor and farming interests of the country, and we heartily indorse the consistent and patriotic action of the Republican representatives in congress in opposing its passage.

We condemn the proposition of the Democratic party to place wool on the free list, and we insist that the duties thereon shall be adjusted and maintained so as to furnish full and adequate protection to that industry throughout the United States.

The Republican party would effect all needed reduction of the national revenue by repealing the taxes upon tobacco, which are an annoyance and burden to agriculture, and the tax upon spirits used in the arts, and for mechanical purposes,

and by such revision of the tariff laws as will tend to check imports of such articles as are produced by our people, the production of which gives employment to our labor, and releases from import duties those articles of foreign production (except luxuries) the like of which cannot be produced at home. If there shall remain a larger revenue than is requisite for the wants of the government we favor the entire repeal of internal revenue taxes rather than the surrender of any part of our protective system at the joint behest of the whisky trust and the agents of foreign manufacturers.

We declare our hostility to the introduction into this country of foreign contract labor and of Chinese labor, alien to our civilization and Constitution; and we demand the rigid enforcement of the existing laws against it, and favor such immediate legislation as will exclude such labor from our shores.

We declare our opposition to all combinations of capital organized in trusts otherwise to control arbitrarily the condition of trade among our citizens; and we recommend to congress and the state legislatures in their respective jurisdictions such legislation as will prevent the execution of all schemes to oppress the people by undue charges on their supplies, or by unjust rates for the transportation of their products to market. We approve the legislation by congress to prevent alike unjust burdens and unfair discriminations between the states.

We reaffirm the policy for appropriating the public lands of the United States to be homesteads for American citizens and settlers—not alien—which the Republican party established in 1862 against the persistent opposition of the Democrats in congress, and which has brought our great Western domain into such magnificent development. The restoration of unearned railroad land grants to the public domain for the use of actual settlers, which was begun under the administration of President Arthur, should be continued. We deny that the Democratic party has ever restored one acre to the people, but declare that by the joint action of Republicans and Democrats

in Congress about 60,000,000 acres of unearned lands originally granted for the construction of railroads have been restored to the public domain, in pursuance of the conditions inserted by the Republican party in the original grants. We charge the Democratic administration with failure to execute the laws securing to settlers the titles to their homesteads, and with using appropriations made for that purpose to harass innocent settlers with spies and prosecutions under the false pretense of exposing frauds and vindicating the law.

The government by congress of the territories is based upon necessity only to the end that they may become states in the Union; therefore, whenever the conditions of population, material resources, public intelligence and morality are such as insure a stable local government therein, the people of such territories should be permitted as a right inherent in them to form for themselves constitutions and state governments, and be admitted into the Union. Pending the preparation for statehood all officers thereof should be selected from the bona fide residents and citizens of the territory wherein they are to serve. South Dakota should of right be immediately admitted as a state in the Union under the constitution framed and adopted by her people, and we heartily endorse the action of the Republican senate in twice passing bills for her admission. The refusal of the Democratic house of representatives, for partisan purposes, to favorably consider these bills is a wilful violation of the sacred American principle of local self-government, and merits the condemnation of all just men. The pending bills in the senate to enable the people of Washington, North Dakota and Montana territories to form constitutions and establish state governments, should be passed without unnecessary delay. The Republican party pledges itself to do all in its power to facilitate the admission of the Territories of New Mexico, Wyoming, Idaho and Arizona to the enjoyment of self-government as states, such of them as now are qualified, as soon as possible, and the others as soon as they may become so.

The political power of the Mormon church in the territories

as exercised in the past is a menace to free institutions too dangerous to be longer suffered. Therefore we pledge the Republican party to appropriate legislation asserting sovereignty of the nation in all territories where the same is questioned, and in furtherance of that end to place upon the statute books legislation stringent enough to divorce the political from the ecclesiastical power, and thus stamp out the attendant wickedness of polygamy.

The Republican party is in favor of the use of both gold and silver money, and condemns the policy of the Democratic administration in its efforts to demonetize silver.

We demand the reduction of letter postage to one cent per ounce.

In a Republic like ours, where the citizen is the sovereign, and the official the servant, where no power is exercised except by the will of the people, it is important that the sovereign—the people—should possess intelligence. The free school is the promoter of that intelligence which is to preserve us a free nation; therefore, the state or nation, or both combined, should support free institutions of learning sufficient to afford every child growing in the land the opportunity of a good common school education.

The first concern of all good government is the virtue and sobriety of the people, and the purity of their homes. The Republican party cordially sympathizes with all wise and well-directed efforts for the promotion of temperance and morality.

We earnestly recommend that prompt action be taken by congress in the enactment of such legislation as will best secure the rehabilitation of our American merchant marine, and we protest against the passage by congress of a free ship bill as calculated to work injustice to labor by lessening the wages of those engaged in preparing materials as well as those indirectly employed in our shipyards.

We demand appropriations for the early rebuilding of our navy; for the construction of coast fortifications and modern ordnance and other approved modern means of defense for the protection of our defenceless harbors and cities; for the



payment of just pensions to our soldiers; for necessary works of national importance in the improvement of harbors and the channels of internal, coastwise and foreign commerce; for the encouragement of the shipping interests of the Atlantic, Gulf, and Pacific states, as well as for the payment of the maturing public debt. This policy will give employment to our labor, activity to our various industries, increase the security of our country, promote trade, open new and direct markets for our produce, and cheapen the cost of transportation. We affirm this to be far better for our country than the Democratic policy of loaning the government's money without interest to "pet banks."

The conduct of foreign affairs by the present administration has been distinguished by its inefficiency and its cowardice. Having withdrawn from the senate all pending treaties effected by Republican administration for the removal of foreign burdens and restrictions upon our commerce and for its extension into better markets, it has neither effected nor proposed any others in their stead. Professing adherence to the Monroe doctrine it has seen with idle complacency the extension of foreign influence in Central America and of foreign trade everywhere among our neighbors. It has refused to charter, sanction or encourage any American organization for constructing the Nicaragua Canal, a work of vital importance to the maintenance of the Monroe doctrine and of our national influence in Central and South America, and necessary for the development of trade with our Pacific territory, with South America, and with the islands and further coasts of the Pacific Ocean.

We arraign the present Democratic administration for its weak and unpatriotic treatment of the fisheries question and its pusillanimous surrender of the essential privileges to which our fishing vessels are entitled in Canadian ports under the treaty of 1818, the reciprocal maritime legislation of 1830, and the comity of nations, and which Canadian fishing vessels receive in the ports of the United States. We condemn the policy of the present administration and the Democratic ma-

majority in congress toward our fisheries as unfriendly and conspicuously unpatriotic, and as tending to destroy a valuable national industry, and an indispensable resource of defence against a foreign enemy. "The name American applies alike to all citizens of the Republic and imposes upon all alike the same obligation of obedience to the laws. At the same time that citizenship is and must be the panoply and safeguard of him who wears it, and protect him, whether high or low, rich or poor, in all civil rights, and it should and must afford him protection at home and follow and protect him abroad in whatever land he may be on a lawful errand."

The men who abandoned the Republican party in 1884, and continue to adhere to the Democratic party have deserted not only the cause of honest government, of sound finance, of freedom and purity of the ballot, but especially have deserted the cause of reform in the civil service. We will not fail to keep our pledges because they have broken theirs, or because their candidate has broken his. We therefore repeat our declaration of 1884, to wit: "The reform of the civil service, auspiciously begun under the Republican administration, should be completed by the further extension of the reform system already established by law, to all the grades of the service to which it is applicable. The spirit and purpose of the reform should be observed in all executive appointments, and all laws at variance with the object of existing reform legislation should be repealed, to the end that the dangers to free institutions which lurk in the power of official patronage may be wisely and effectively avoided."

The gratitude of the nation to the defenders of the Union cannot be measured by laws. The legislation in congress should conform to the pledges made by a loyal people, and be so enlarged and extended as to provide against the possibility that any man who honorably wore the Federal uniform shall become an inmate of an almshouse, or dependent upon private charity. In the presence of an overflowing treasury it would be a public scandal to do less for those whose valorous service preserved the government. We denounce the hostile

spirit shown by President Cleveland in his numerous vetoes of measures for pension relief, and the action of the Democratic house of representatives in refusing even a consideration of general pension legislation.

In support of the principles herewith enunciated we invite the co-operation of patriotic men of all parties, and especially of all workingmen, whose prosperity is seriously threatened by the free trade policy of the present administration.

The next order of business was the presentation of names of candidates for President of the United States. The secretary called the roll of states and territories. When Connecticut was called Samuel L. Warner presented the name of Joseph R. Hawley. When Illinois was called Leonard Swett presented the name of Walter Q. Gresham. The nomination was seconded by Frank F. Davis of Minnesota, John R. Lynch of Mississippi, Samuel W. McCall of Massachusetts and John B. Rec-tor of Texas.

When Indiana was called Albert G. Porter presented the name of Benjamin Harrison. The convention then took a recess until 3 o'clock P. M.

On the reassembling of the convention the nomination of Mr. Harrison was seconded by E. H. Terrill of Texas, and Jacob H. Gallinger of New Hampshire.

When Iowa was called, D. B. Henderson presented the name of William B. Allison. The nomination was seconded by Benjamin M. Bosworth of Rhode Island.

When Michigan was called, Robert E. Fraser presented the name of Russell A. Alger. The nomination was seconded by Charles J. Noyes of Massachusetts, Patrick Egan of Nebraska, L. G. Estes of North Carolina and L. F. Eggers of Arizona.

When New York was called Frank Hiscock presented

the name of Chauncey M. Depew and the nomination was seconded by G. G. Hartley of Minnesota.

When Ohio was called D. H. Hastings of Pennsylvania presented the name of John Sherman. The nomination was seconded by Joseph B. Foraker, John M. Langston of Virginia and John C. Darcey of North Carolina.

When Pennsylvania was called Charles Emory Smith presented the name of Edwin H. Fitler of that state.

When Wisconsin was called John C. Spooner presented the name of Jeremiah M. Rusk. The convention then at 7:25 P. M. adjourned until Friday at 11 A. M.

The convention reassembled at 11 A. M. on Friday (the fourth day). Prayer was offered by Rev. J. H. Worcester. The roll of states was then called and balloting for a candidate for President began. The vote of several states was questioned and the delegations polled.

The result of the first ballot was as follows:

Whole number of votes .....	831
Necessary to a choice .....	416
Sherman .....	229
Gresham .....	107
Depew .....	99
Alger .....	84
Harrison .....	85
Allison .....	72
Blaine .....	35
Ingalls .....	28
Phelps .....	25
Rusk .....	25
Fitler .....	24
Hawley .....	13
Lincoln .....	3
McKinley .....	2

Connecticut cast 12 for General Hawley. The second and succeeding ballots were as follows:

	2	3	4	5	6	7	8
Sherman .....	249	244	235	224	244	230	118
Alger .....	116	122	135	143	137	120	100
Gresham .....	108	123	98	87	91	91	59
Depew .....	99	91	...	...	...	...	...
Harrison .....	91	94	216	212	231	279	544
Allison .....	75	88	88	99	73	76	...
Blaine .....	33	35	42	48	40	15	5
Rusk .....	20	16	...	...	...	...	...
Phelps .....	18	5	...	...	...	...	...
Ingalls .....	16	...	...	...	...	...	...
Lincoln .....	2	2	1	...	...	2	...
McKinley .....	3	8	11	14	12	16	4
Samuel F. Miller.....	...	2	...	...	...	...	...
Frederick Douglass....	...	...	1	...	...	...	...
Fred Grant .....	...	...	...	...	1	...	...
Foraker .....	...	...	1	...	1	1	...
Haymond .....	...	...	...	...	...	1	...
Whole number .....	830	830	828	827	830	831	830
Necessary to a choice..	416	416	415	414	416	416	416

Connecticut voted on the second and succeeding ballots as follows:

	2	3	4	5	6	7	8
Alger .....	1	1	1	2	2	2	..
Allison .....	4	5	6	6	4	..	..
Depew .....	6	..	..	..	..	..	..
Gresham .....	1	6	4	3	..	..	..
McKinley .....	..	..	1	1	..	1	..
Sherman .....	..	..	..	..	6	5	..
Harrison.....	..	..	..	..	..	4	12
	—	—	—	—	—	—	—
	12	12	12	12	12	12	12

After the third ballot had been taken in the convention a recess was taken at 2 P. M. until 7 o'clock.

On the reassembling of the convention in the evening, Mr. Depew arose and in a short speech withdrew his name as a candidate. The convention then after a brief discussion, voted to adjourn until 10 o'clock Saturday morning. The roll was called on the motion to adjourn and resulted: Ayes 531, noes 287. Connecticut voted 4 ayes and 8 noes.

The convention met pursuant to adjournment at 10 A. M. Saturday (the fifth day). Prayer was offered by Bishop Fallows of Chicago.

The convention proceeded to take the fourth ballot. When the vote of Connecticut was announced there was one for William McKinley, Jr.

Mr. McKinley thereupon arose and addressed the chair as follows:

*Mr. President and Gentlemen of the Convention:*

I am here as one of the chosen representatives of my state. I am here by resolution of the Republican state convention of Ohio commanding me to vote for John Sherman, and to use every worthy endeavor to accomplish his nomination. I accepted the trust because my heart and my judgment approved of the letter, and the spirit, and the purpose of that resolution. Some of the delegates in this convention have been pleased to give me their votes. I am not insensible of the honor which they would do me, or the confidence which their action implies, but I cannot with honor longer remain silent. I cannot, gentlemen of this convention, consistently, with the credit of the state whose credentials I bear, and which the state has trusted me—I cannot consistently, with honorable fidelity to John Sherman, who has trusted me in his cause with his confidence; and above all, I cannot with my sense of personal integrity, permit my name to be used in this convention. I would not respect myself if I could find

it in my heart to say, to do, or to permit any one else to say or do, that which would give currency even to a suspicion that I was disloyal to the state which I love, or wavered in my devotion to the chief of her choice and to the chief of mine. I do request, gentlemen of this convention, aye, I demand, that no delegate in this convention who does not want to cast reflection upon me shall cast a further ballot for me.

There had undoubtedly been a strong pressure brought to bear upon Major McKinley when it was found that the convention was likely to be deadlocked to allow his name to be used as a candidate. His remarks given above show how well he was able to resist this pressure. Immediately after the result of the fifth ballot had been announced Mr. Foster of Ohio moved that the convention take a recess until 4 o'clock.

A demand for a call of the states on the motion was made by Mr. Sewell of New Jersey. The demand was seconded by other states and the roll was called. Before the roll was completed Mr. Sewell remarked that it was evident that the majority of the convention desired the recess, so he asked unanimous consent to withdraw the demand for the roll call, which was granted, and the convention took a recess until 4 o'clock.

The convention reassembled at 4 o'clock.

Mr. King of Maryland then moved that the convention adjourn until 11 o'clock Monday morning.

A roll call was demanded and resulted as follows: Ayes 492, noes 320, and the convention adjourned until 11 o'clock A. M. Monday, June 25. Connecticut voted 6 ayes, 5 noes.

The convention had been in session for five days and the nomination of a candidate was still involved in much

doubt. There were many conferences during Saturday night, Sunday and Monday morning. There was still a feeling on the part of many of the delegates that Mr. Blaine might be induced to become a candidate or that Major McKinley might be forced to accept the nomination.

The convention met again on Monday (the sixth day) at 11 A. M. Prayer was offered by Rev. Dr. Edwards of Chicago.

Mr. Boutelle arose, addressed the chair and was recognized.

Mr. Haymond then arose and said: "I rise to a point of order."

The president said: "The gentleman from California will state his point of order."

Mr. Haymond said: "My point of order is that nothing is in order now except a call of the roll, and if that is not in order I want to make a speech for Mr. Blaine when he is being betrayed in the camp of his friends."

The president said that the point of order made by the gentleman from California (Mr. Haymond) was well taken, but he (the chair) understood that the gentleman from Maine (Mr. Boutelle) rose to a question of privilege, as other delegates had previously, and therefore took the liberty to recognize him and would now allow him to state his question of privilege. Mr. Boutelle then arose and said:

*Mr. President:*

I find myself somewhat embarrassed in being thrown even into a semblance of antagonism to the representatives of that delegation from the great Pacific Slope, who have come here



manifesting such a devotion to a chieftain whose banner I have followed with pride and affection, lo! these many years. I would like, were the occasion appropriate, and did I feel it proper in view of the courtesy to which I am indebted for an appearance here at all, to preface the announcement that I am to make, by some explanatory remark. I shall not attempt to do so. No one in this magnificent auditory has any doubt as to where the affection, the devotion, and the allegiance of the Republicans of Maine have been and always will be. No delegate here will doubt the regret with which I discharge the duty imposed upon me; but, Mr. President, and gentlemen of the convention, I am under a restraint which I do not feel at liberty to ignore, and without attempting to give construction or interpretation of my own to the language of one greater than myself by far, I discharge my humble duty as the representative of the Maine delegation by reading to you, without preface or comment, the following dispatches which I have received.

There was now great disorder and confusion in the convention.

Mr. Boutelle then said: I read to the convention for information, as I have received them, these dispatches:

EDINBURGH, June 24.

*To Boutelle and Manley, Maine Delegation, Chicago:*

Earnestly request all friends to respect my Paris letter.

BLAINE.

That dispatch was received last night. This morning I received the following:

EDINBURGH, June 25.

*To Boutelle and Manley, Maine Delegation, Chicago:*

I think I have the right to ask my friends to respect my wishes and refrain from voting for me. Please make this and former dispatch public promptly.

JAMES G. BLAINE.

The convention proceeded with the call of the roll for the sixth ballot, which resulted in a gain (from the fifth ballot taken on Saturday) of 20 for Sherman and 19 for Harrison and a loss for Alger of 6, for Gresham 8, for Allison 26, and for Blaine 8. McKinley still had 12 votes.

The seventh ballot was then taken. Sherman lost 14 and Harrison gained 48. After the announcement of the result of this ballot Mr. Henderson withdrew the name of Mr. Allison. There was the greatest disorder in the convention and the sergeant-at-arms was asked by the president to clear the aisles. The disorder continued and it was some time before there was sufficient quiet to announce the eighth ballot, which had been taken. It was finally announced, showing that Benjamin Harrison had received 544 votes and was nominated by the convention.

The president made the announcement and said: "Shall the nomination be made unanimous?"

Mr. Foraker made a motion to that effect and it was seconded by Mr. Horr, Mr. Farrell, Mr. Depew, Mr. Hastings, Mr. Henderson, Mr. Boutelle, Mr. Haymond, Mr. Wise, Mr. Mahone, Mr. Lynch, Mr. Thurston, Mr. Proctor, Mr. Bradley and others, and the motion was declared carried and the nomination made unanimous, amid great applause and cheering.

When Mr. Depew withdrew his name after the third ballot and 58 of the New York delegates voted for Mr. Harrison on the two succeeding ballots, and later the entire delegation, it gave Mr. Harrison a gain that it was difficult to overcome and doubtless gave him the nomination. A dispatch was received from General Alger promising his hearty support to Mr. Harrison.

A motion was then made to take a recess until 5 o'clock, but it was defeated. The roll was then called for the presentation of names of candidates for Vice-President.

Mr. Denny presented the name of William O. Bradley of Kentucky. Mr. Griffin of Kansas, Mr. Warner of Alabama, Mr. Houck of Tennessee and Mr. Locke of Georgia seconded the nomination.

The convention then took a recess until 6 o'clock.

The convention reassembled at 6 P. M. Mr. Sewell presented the name of William Walter Phelps as a candidate for Vice-President. The nomination was seconded by Mr. Gibson of Ohio, Mr. Dolliver of Iowa, Mr. Bou-telle, Mr. Egan of Nebraska, and others.

Warner Miller presented the name of Levi P. Morton. The nomination was seconded by Mr. Gage of California, Mr. Foster of Ohio, Mr. Hallowell of Kansas, Mr. Hastings of Pennsylvania, Mr. Marsh of Illinois, Mr. Chalmers of Mississippi, and others.

The roll was called and the balloting begun. The result was as follows:

Whole number of votes .....	826
Necessary to a choice .....	414
Morton .....	592
Phelps .....	119
Bradley .....	103
Blanche Bruce .....	11
Walter S. Thomas .....	1

Connecticut voted 12 for Morton. The nomination of Mr. Morton was made unanimous.

A committee to notify the candidates of their respec-

tive nominations was then named. E. Stevens Henry was the member from Connecticut.

The usual resolutions of thanks were then passed and the convention at 9 o'clock P. M. adjourned sine die.

The convention had been in session for six days, a longer time than any previous convention except that of 1880, which lasted the same length of time. The convention of 1884 lasted four days. All the preceding conventions only two or three days.

The number of candidates in the field and the uncertainty regarding Mr. Blaine's position, doubtless contributed to the prolongation of the convention.

The committee to notify the nominees met in Indianapolis, July 4. Mr. Estee, chairman of the committee, made the address to General Harrison, to which he responded briefly.

The committee met again in New York, July 7, and went to the home of Mr. Morton at Rhinecliff; to notify him.

Mr. Estee made the address, to which Mr. Morton made a brief reply.

At the beginning of this paper I gave a brief sketch of Benjamin Harrison's career.

#### LEVI P. MORTON.

Levi P. Morton, the candidate for Vice-President, was born in Vermont in 1824. In 1850 he was a merchant in Boston, and in 1854 he removed to New York, where he established the firm of Morton & Grinnell. In 1863 he founded the banking house of Morton, Bliss & Co., in New York, and that of Morton, Rose & Co., in London. Mr. Morton was appointed honorary commissioner to the Paris exposition in 1878. In the same year he was elected to Congress and

was re-elected in 1880. In the latter year he declined the nomination for Vice-President on the Republican ticket. President Garfield offered to nominate Mr. Morton for secretary of the navy or minister to France. He chose the latter post and filled it from 1881 to 1885. In 1887 he was a candidate for United States senator against Warner Miller and Frank Hiscock. The latter was chosen. Mr. Morton was later governor of New York.

The Democratic National Convention preceded that of the Republican, and met at St. Louis.

Grover Cleveland was renominated for President and Allen G. Thurman of Ohio for Vice-President, Thomas A. Hendricks, the former Vice-President having died while in office in November, 1885. The campaign that followed was a hard fought battle and hotly contested in the close states. The tariff was made one of the principal issues of the campaign. General Harrison received many delegations from Indiana and other western states at his home in Indianapolis whom he eloquently addressed and by whom he was heartily cheered. The October state elections resulted favorably for the Republicans, and in November, Harrison and Morton were elected by an electoral vote of 233 to 168 for Cleveland and Thurman.

The popular vote was: Harrison, 5,440,216; Cleveland, 5,538,233.

Benjamin Harrison was inaugurated President March 4, 1889, as the successor to Grover Cleveland.

**THE TENTH  
REPUBLICAN NATIONAL  
CONVENTION**



BENJAMIN HARRISON

REPUBLICAN  
CANDIDATES

1892



WHITELAW REID

THE TENTH REPUBLICAN NATIONAL CONVENTION  
HELD AT MINNEAPOLIS, MINN., JUNE 7-10, 1892

*For President*—BENJAMIN HARRISON, of Indiana.

*For Vice-President*—WHITELAW REID, of New York.

The tenth Republican National Convention met in Minneapolis, Minn., in June, 1892. Benjamin Harrison, inaugurated March 4, 1889, had nearly one year more to serve as President before the expiration of his term.

"His administration was broadly characterized by a firm defense of American interests in foreign affairs and a general promotion of industry and governmental effectiveness. During this time the fifty-fifth congress passed the tariff act known as the McKinley law; the reciprocity system was introduced; the new navy was extended; civil service reform was promoted; and the Pan-American Congress, with representatives from all Central and South American countries was held at Washington in 1889-'90. The Behring Sea arbitration respecting the seal fisheries was also organized between Great Britain and the United States. The Samoan difficulties were

adjusted; and the Chile affair concerned with an attack on American sailors, either connived at or permitted by Chilean authorities, was promptly and satisfactorily settled by enforced reparation on the part of Chile. . . . In the spring of 1891, President Harrison made an extended trip through the South, Southwest, and the Pacific Coast. The one hundred and forty-nine different speeches delivered at towns where he stopped were remarkable for their fertility of thought, felicity of expression and adaptability to the place and the occasion. They called forth the most favorable comment from the press and the people of the entire country."

President Harrison had appointed among the members of his cabinet, James G. Blaine as secretary of state, William Windom as secretary of the treasury, Benjamin F. Tracy as secretary of the navy, and John Wanamaker as postmaster-general.

As the time approached for the meeting of the national convention, it was generally conceded that Mr. Harrison would be nominated for a second term. There was some opposition in the party to his renomination, and a feeling existed that Mr. Blaine would allow his name to be used as a candidate. The relations between the President and Mr. Blaine had evidently become strained, and on the eve of the meeting of the convention, while the delegates were en route to Minneapolis, Mr. Blaine resigned his position in the cabinet and became a candidate for the nomination. When the convention met at Minneapolis there was much excitement over the situation. Major McKinley was not a candidate, but had the support of a large number of delegates who evidently thought it not politic to nominate either Mr. Harrison or Mr. Blaine.



Major McKinley was for Mr. Harrison and how well he assisted in his nomination the proceedings of the convention will show. The convention was attended by prominent Republicans as delegates from all the states, among them the following:

From New York—Frank Hiscock, Thomas C. Platt, Chauncey M. Depew, Warner Miller, W. C. Wallace, Horace Porter, S. Van R. Cruger, William Brookfield, Elliott F. Shepard, William H. Robertson, George H. Sharpe, Henry G. Burleigh, James S. Sherman, J. Sloat Fassett and John W. Dwight.

Pennsylvania—Henry W. Oliver, Frank Reeder, Henry H. Bingham, David Martin, Galusha A. Grow, C. L. Magee, M. S. Quay, W. D. Elkins and William Flinn.

Illinois—Shelby M. Cullom, Richard J. Oglesby, Joseph G. Cannon, George B. Swift, H. H. Kohlsaat, William Lorimer and James H. Gilbert.

Ohio—William McKinley, Jr. (then governor of Ohio), Joseph B. Foraker, Asa S. Bushnell, William M. Hahn, George K. Nash and Charles Dick.

Indiana—Richard W. Thompson, Stanton J. Peelle, N. T. DePauw, W. T. Durbin, Lew Wallace and W. R. McKeen.

Iowa—James S. Clarkson, John H. Gear, Edgar E. Mack and Daniel C. Chase.

Minnesota—M. H. Dunnell, W. H. Eustis, J. S. Pillsbury, Stanford Newell and F. A. Day.

Michigan—Dexter M. Ferry, Henry M. Duffield, Aaron T. Bliss and D. A. Blodgett.

Wisconsin—John C. Spooner, Henry C. Payne, Lucius Fairchild and Isaac Stephenson.

California—M. H. De Young, George A. Knight and Daniel T. Cole.

Colorado—Henry M. Teller and Edward O. Wolcott.

Connecticut—Morgan G. Bulkeley, James P. Platt, Lorrin A. Cooke, Frank Brandegee and Allan W. Paige.

Arkansas—Powell Clayton.

- Kansas—John J. Ingalls and Cyrus Leland, Jr.  
Kentucky—William O. Bradley, W. Godfrey Hunter, Augustus E. Willson and Leslie Coombs.  
Maine—Charles E. Littlefield and John L. Cutler.  
Maryland—James A. Gary, Louis E. McComas and John T. Ensor.  
Massachusetts—William W. Crapo, John Q. A. Brackett, William Cogswell, W. Murray Crane, Jesse M. Gove, William B. Plunkett and Walter Clifford.  
Missouri—William Warner, Chauncey I. Filley, Richard C. Kerens and F. G. Niedringhaus.  
Mississippi—John R. Lynch and James Hill.  
New Jersey—William J. Sewell, John I. Blair, George A. Halsey, Garret A. Hobart, David Baird, W. A. Roebeling and E. M. Condit.  
Tennessee—H. Clay Evans and John C. Houck.  
Vermont—H. H. Powers and George T. Childs.  
Virginia—William Malone, V. D. Groner and John M. Langston.

The following were the delegates from Connecticut:

AT LARGE.

- Morgan G. Bulkeley, Hartford; alternate, L. B. Plimpton, Hartford.  
James P. Platt, Meriden; alternate, William C. Hough, Essex.  
Timothy E. Hopkins, Danielson; alternate, Frederick C. Palmer, New London.  
Lorrin A. Cooke, Riverton; alternate, David Strong, Winsted.

DISTRICT.

- First—Thomas Duncan, Poquonock; alternate, M. Lewis Peck, Bristol. Thomas A. Lake, Rockville; alternate, E. C. Dennis, Stafford Springs.  
Second—Thomas Wallace, Ansonia; alternate, John B.

Doherty, Waterbury. E. Irving Bell, Portland; alternate, William I. Lewis, Westbrook.

Third—Frank B. Brandegee, New London; alternate, W. C. Mowrey, Norwich. Edwin Milner, Moosup; alternate, John A. Porter, Pomfret.

Fourth—A. W. Paige, Birmingham; alternate, Irving Strickland, Bridgeport. Thomas D. Bradstreet, Thomaston; alternate, G. M. Breining, New Milford.

Many of the delegates are still prominent in political life. Morgan G. Bulkeley and the late Lorrin A. Cooke were former governors of the state—the former in 1889-1893, and the latter in 1897-1899. Governor Bulkeley and Frank B. Brandegee, now United States senators; James P. Platt, son of the late Senator Platt, now a United States district judge; Thomas D. Bradstreet, state comptroller, and Allan W. Paige, who was speaker of the house in 1891 and later, state senator.

The convention assembled in Convention Hall, Industrial Exposition Building, at 12:30 P. M. Tuesday, June 7, and was called to order by James S. Clarkson, chairman of the national committee. Prayer was offered by Rev. Dr. William Brush, chancellor of the University of Dakota. The call for the convention was read by the secretary. The chairman presented as the temporary chairman of the convention J. Sloat Fassett of New York.

Jacob Sloat Fassett was born in Elmira, N. Y., in November, 1853, attended school in Elmira, entered Rochester University in 1871, and graduated in 1875; studied law and was admitted to the bar in 1878. Within a half hour after admission Governor Lucius Robinson appointed him district attorney for Chemung county. He then studied abroad at Heidelberg University, studying law while there. After returning to Elmira he was elected to the state senate and served eight

years. He was temporary president of the senate in 1889-90-91. He was a delegate to the Republican National Convention in 1888, and became that year a member and secretary of the national committee. He was in 1891 nominated for governor, but was defeated by Roswell P. Flower.

Mr. Fassett, on taking the chair, made an eloquent address. There were calls for "Reed," and the chairman said: "The Honorable Thomas B. Reed is always in order in a Republican convention." Mr. Reed came forward and made a brief speech. There were continued calls for "McKinley," to which that gentleman arose and bowed acknowledgments. There were calls for "Ingalls" and "Foraker," but no responses. The roll of states and territories was then called for the names of those selected to serve on the several committees. Connecticut named the following:

- On Permanent Organization—Timothy E. Hopkins.
- On Rules and Order of Business—Allan W. Paige.
- On Credentials—Frank Brandegee.
- On Resolutions—James P. Platt.

The convention then adjourned until Wednesday at 11 o'clock A. M.

The convention was called to order on Wednesday (the second day) at 11:45 A. M. Prayer was offered by Right Rev. H. B. Whipple, D.D., LL.D., bishop of Minnesota. The committee on permanent organization, through its chairman, D. C. Lockwood of Idaho, presented its report, naming William McKinley, Jr., for president, and a vice-president and secretary for each state and territory. Lorrin A. Cooke was named for

vice-president for Connecticut, and Thomas Wallace for secretary. The chairman appointed as a committee to escort the president to the chair, Samuel Fessenden, Senator Spooner and General Mahone. Mr. McKinley was presented by the chairman and delivered an interesting address.

William McKinley was born at Niles, Trumbull county, Ohio, January 29, 1843. The family moved to Poland, Ohio, when young McKinley was about eleven years of age, where he attended the seminary located there. He became a member of the literary association connected with the seminary, and frequently took part in the debates and literary contests. He later taught school in Poland, and at the breaking out of the Civil War enlisted as a private and became second lieutenant in September, 1862, first lieutenant in February, 1863, captain in July, 1864, and brevet-major for gallantry in 1865. He was admitted to the Ohio bar in 1867 and elected state's attorney in 1869. He was elected first to congress in 1876 and re-elected in 1878-1880-1882, 1884 to 1890. He was elected governor of Ohio in 1891. He took an active part in the Grant-Greeley campaign in 1872, and also in the Hayes-Tilden campaign in 1876. In 1876 he addressed a large audience at the Union League in Philadelphia, creating so profound an impression that demands for his services as a platform speaker came from all parts of the country. His first speech in congress was in opposition to a bill for a non-protective tariff introduced by Fernando Wood, and this marked him as one of the best equipped defenders of protection in Congress. He served while in Congress on the judiciary committee, and succeeded Garfield on the ways and means committee, becoming chairman in 1890. In the campaign of 1880 he accompanied General Garfield in his tour through New York and made speeches in other states. In 1884 he accompanied Mr. Blaine on his western tour and made speeches in Ohio, New York and West Virginia.

In the fiftieth congress, 1887-89, Major McKinley opposed President Cleveland's views and policy respecting the tariff, substantially embodied in what became known as the Mills bill (also called the dark lantern bill) from the secrecy attending its origin, and on May 18, 1888, delivered what was considered by the Republican party to be one of the most eloquent and effective speeches in defense of American labor and the cause of protection on record.

He introduced in congress, December 17, 1889, a bill "to simplify the laws in relation to the collection of revenue"—known later as the McKinley bill. It became a law October 1, 1890, and was signed by President Harrison.

The chairman of the committee on rules and order of business, Henry H. Bingham of Pennsylvania, then presented the report of the committee. After a brief discussion the report was adopted. The convention then adjourned until Thursday at 11 A. M.

The convention reassembled on Thursday (the third day) at 11:30 A. M. Prayer was offered by Rev. William Brush, D.D. A resolution introduced by Mr. Culom of Illinois, commending the "World's Columbian Exposition," to be held in Chicago in 1893, was referred to the committee on resolutions.

A resolution offered by Mr. Robarts of Illinois providing for seats in the convention for members of the Grand Army of the Republic, was referred to the committee on rules and order of business.

Mr. Sewell of New Jersey moved that the convention take a recess until 8 o'clock in the evening. As there was some opposition to the motion a rising vote was taken, resulting, ayes 407, noes 260, and the recess was ordered.

The convention reassembled at 8:50 P. M. Mr. Depew arose to a question of privilege, "not high privilege but pleasant privilege," and said:

We have present among our number a delegate, who has been a delegate to every National Convention of the Republican party since its organization; who has voted for every President of the United States for the last sixty years; who has served with distinction in congress and in the cabinet of the President of the United States; who is today eighty-three years of age, in full activity, and in the full possession of his faculties; and, while England claims so much for Mr. Gladstone because at eighty-two he is so strong and vigorous, America claims more for Colonel Dick Thompson of Indiana, who is eighty-three years of age today. I move you, sir, that the congratulations of this convention be extended to him.

C. T. Griffin of Indiana said: "In behalf of the delegation from Indiana, I desire to second the motion of the gentleman from New York."

The motion was unanimously adopted. Mr. Thompson was conducted to the platform, presented to the convention, and received with cheers.

He made a brief speech, which was received with great enthusiasm.

Mr. Cogswell of Massachusetts presented the report of the majority of the committee on credentials. The minority presented a report through Mr. Wallace of New York. There were contests in Alabama, and in districts in Kentucky, Louisiana, Mississippi, Maryland, North Carolina, South Carolina, Utah and Texas. Sixteen of the committee signed the minority report, among them Frank B. Brandegee of Connecticut.

There was a long discussion upon the two reports, participated in by many of the most prominent delegates in

the convention, including Mr. Wolcott of Colorado, Mr. Miller, Mr. Depew, Mr. Hiscock and Mr. Fassett of New York, Mr. Filley of Missouri, Mr. Cogswell of Massachusetts, Mr. Knight of California, Mr. Clayton of Arkansas, Mr. Quay of Pennsylvania, Mr. Spooner of Wisconsin, Mr. Sewall of New Jersey and Mr. Cannon of Illinois.

The Alabama case excited the greatest amount of discussion. It was moved to substitute the minority report for that of the majority and a roll call was demanded on the question. The roll call resulted as follows: Ayes 423½, noes 463. Connecticut voted 9 aye, 3 no.

On the adoption of the majority report the vote stood: Ayes 476, noes 365½. Connecticut voted, aye 4, no 6.

The committee on resolutions, through its chairman, Joseph B. Foraker, presented the report of the committee. The resolutions were read by Mr. Foraker and unanimously adopted.

#### THE PLATFORM.

The representatives of the Republicans of the United States, assembled in general convention on the shores of the Mississippi river, the everlasting bond of an indestructible Republic, whose most glorious chapter of history is the record of the Republican party, congratulate their countrymen on the majestic march of the nation under the banners inscribed with the principles of our platform of 1888, vindicated by victory at the polls and prosperity in our fields, workshops and mines, and make the following declaration of principles:

We reaffirm the American doctrine of protection. We call attention to its growth abroad. We maintain that the prosperous condition of our country is largely due to the wise revenue legislation of the Republican congress.

We believe that all articles which cannot be produced in the



United States, except luxuries, should be admitted free of duty, and that on all imports coming into competition with the products of American labor, there should be levied duties equal to the difference between wages abroad and at home. We assert that the prices of manufactured articles of general consumption have been reduced under the operations of the tariff act of 1890.

We denounce the efforts of the Democratic majority of the house of representatives to destroy our tariff laws by piecemeal, as manifested by their attacks upon wool, lead and lead ores, the chief products of a number of states, and we ask the people for their judgment thereon.

We point to the success of the Republican policy of reciprocity under which our export trade has vastly increased, and new and enlarged markets have been opened for the products of our farms and workshops.

We remind the people of the bitter opposition of the Democratic party to this practical business measure, and claim that, executed by a Republican administration, our present laws will eventually give us control of the trade of the world.

The American people, from tradition and interest, favor bi-metallism and the Republican party demands the use of both gold and silver as standard money, with such restrictions and under such provisions, to be determined by legislation, as will secure the maintenance of the parity of values of the two metals so that the purchasing and debt-paying power of the dollar, whether of silver, gold or paper, shall be at all times equal. The interests of the producers of the country, its farmers and workingmen, demand that every dollar, paper or coin, issued by the government, shall be as good as any other.

We commend the wise and patriotic steps already taken by our government to secure an international conference, to adopt such measures as will insure a parity of value between gold and silver for use as money throughout the world.

We demand that every citizen of the United States shall be

allowed to cast one free and unrestricted ballot in all public elections, and that such ballot shall be counted and returned as cast; that such laws shall be enacted and enforced as will secure to every citizen, be he rich or poor, native or foreign born, white or black, this sovereign right, guaranteed by the Constitution. The free and honest popular ballot, the just and equal representation of all the people, as well as their just and equal protection under the laws, are the foundation of our Republican institutions, and the party will never relax its efforts until the integrity of the ballot and the purity of elections shall be fully guaranteed and protected in every state.

#### SOUTHERN OUTRAGES.

We denounce the continued inhuman outrages perpetrated upon American citizens for political reasons in certain Southern states of the Union.

#### FOREIGN RELATIONS.

We favor the extension of our foreign commerce, the restoration of our mercantile marine by home-built ships, and the creation of a navy for the protection of our national interests and the honor of our flag; the maintenance of the most friendly relations with all foreign powers; entangling alliances with none; and the protection of the rights of our fishermen.

We reaffirm our approval of the Monroe Doctrine and believe in the achievement of the manifest destiny of the Republic in its broadest sense.

We favor the enactment of more stringent laws and regulations for the restriction of criminal, pauper and contract immigration.

#### MISCELLANEOUS.

We favor efficient legislation by congress to protect the life and limb of employes of transportation companies engaged in carrying on interstate commerce, and we recommend legislation by the respective states that will protect employes engaged in state commerce, in mining and manufacturing.

The Republican party has always been the champion of the

oppressed and recognizes the dignity of manhood, irrespective of faith, color or nationality; it sympathizes with the cause of home rule in Ireland, and protests against the persecution of the Jews in Russia.

The ultimate reliance of free popular government is the intelligence of the people, and the maintenance of freedom among men. We therefore declare anew our devotion to liberty of thought and conscience, of speech and press, and approve all agencies and instrumentalities which contribute to the education of the children of the land, but while insisting upon the fullest measure of religious liberty, we are opposed to any union of church and state.

We reaffirm our opposition, declared in the Republican platform of 1888, to all combinations of capital organized in trusts or otherwise, to control arbitrarily the condition of trade among our citizens.

We heartily indorse the action already taken upon this subject, and ask for such further legislation as may be required to remedy any defects in existing laws, and to render their enforcement more complete and effective.

We approve the policy of extending to towns, villages and rural communities the advantages of the free delivery service, now enjoyed by the larger cities of the country, and reaffirm the declaration contained in the Republican platform of 1888, pledging the reduction of letter postage to one cent at the earliest possible moment consistent with the maintenance of the Post Office Department and the highest class of postal service.

#### CIVIL SERVICE.

We commend the spirit and evidence of reform in the civil service, and the wise and consistent enforcement by the Republican party of the laws regulating the same.

#### NICARAGUA CANAL.

The construction of the Nicaragua canal is of the highest importance to the American people, both as a measure of national defense and to build up and maintain American

commerce, and it should be controlled by the United States government.

#### TERRITORIES.

We favor the admission of the remaining territories at the earliest practicable date, having due regard to the interests of the people of the territories and of the United States. All the federal officers appointed for the territories should be selected from bona fide residents thereof, and the rights of self-government should be accorded as far as practicable.

#### ARID LANDS.

We favor the cession, subject to the homestead laws, of arid public lands, to the states and territories in which they lie, under such congressional restrictions as to disposition, reclamation and occupancy by settlers as will secure the maximum benefits to the people.

#### THE COLUMBIAN EXPOSITION.

The World's Columbian Exposition is a great national undertaking, and congress should promptly enact such reasonable legislation in aid thereof as will insure a discharge of the expenses and obligations incident thereto, and the attainment of results commensurate with the dignity and progress of the nation.

#### INTEMPERANCE.

We sympathize with all wise and legitimate efforts to lessen and prevent the evils of intemperance and promote morality.

#### PENSIONS.

Ever mindful of the services and sacrifices of the men who saved the life of the nation, we pledge anew to the veteran soldiers of the Republic a watchful care and recognition of their just claims upon a grateful people.

#### HARRISON'S ADMINISTRATION.

We commend the able, patriotic and thoroughly American administration of President Harrison. Under it the country has enjoyed remarkable prosperity and the dignity and honor

of the nation, at home and abroad, have been faithfully kept as a guarantee of performance in the future.

Immediately after the adoption of the platform the convention at 1:30 A. M. (Friday) adjourned until 11 A. M. The convention on Friday (the fourth day) met at 11:30 A. M. Prayer was offered by Rev. Wayland Hoyt, D.D.

The report of the committee on credentials (the contest having now all been settled by the convention) was adopted.

Mrs. J. Ellen Foster, chairman of the Woman's Republican Association of the United States, was presented to the convention and made an address offering the services of the association in the coming campaign.

Members of the new national committee were then named by the several states and territories. Connecticut again named Samuel Fessenden.

The national committee organized later and chose Hon. Thomas H. Carter of Montana as chairman and Joseph H. Manley of Maine as secretary.

The president then said: "The next order of business is the presentation of candidates for President of the United States." The roll of states was then called. When Colorado was reached, Senator Wolcott went to the platform and presented the name of James G. Blaine in an eloquent speech which aroused great enthusiasm. When Indiana was called Mr. Thompson, in a brief speech, presented the name of President Harrison, whose name was loudly cheered.

When Minnesota was called, Mr. Eustis took the platform and seconded the nomination of Mr. Blaine. His

speech was greeted with applause and cheers, and cries of "Blaine! Blaine!" lasting thirty minutes.

When Mississippi was called Mr. Mollison went to the platform and seconded the nomination of Mr. Blaine.

New York was called and Mr. Depew ascended the platform, amid "long continued applause." In an able and eloquent speech, which was received with prolonged applause, he seconded the nomination of President Harrison.

Warner Miller of New York seconded the nomination of Mr. Blaine.

Mr. Cheatham of North Carolina followed for Benjamin Harrison, and Mr. Boyd of Tennessee for James G. Blaine. When Wisconsin was called Senator Spooner took the platform and made an eloquent speech for Mr. Harrison.

He was followed by Mr. Fink of Wisconsin, also for Mr. Harrison. Mr. Downey of Wyoming spoke in favor of Mr. Blaine.

The convention then proceeded to ballot for a candidate for President of the United States. The secretary called the roll of states and territories. The votes of several states were challenged and the delegations polled. The progress of the ballot was watched with great interest and excitement. Blaine was not only receiving many votes, but McKinley also. Alabama had given McKinley 7 votes, Arkansas 1, California 1, Connecticut 8, Delaware 1, Iowa 1, Kansas 9, Kentucky 1, Maryland 2, Massachusetts 11, Michigan 19, Minnesota 1, Missouri 2, Nebraska 1, New York 10, North Carolina 1, Ohio 45, Oregon 7, Pennsylvania 42, Rhode Island 1, South Carolina 2, Tennessee 3, a total of 176. Later he re-

ceived 2 from Virginia, 1 from Washington and 3 from Wisconsin.

After the state of Texas had been called, the president, Mr. McKinley, invited Elliott F. Shepard of New York to the chair, and taking the floor, addressed the convention. He said:

Mr. President and Gentlemen of the Convention:

I move that the rules be suspended and that Benjamin Harrison be nominated for President of the United States by acclamation.

Mr. Clarkson of Iowa seconded the motion. Mr. Wolcott of Colorado said:

Mr. President, I rise to a point of order, that we are on the call of the states and nobody has a right to make a motion while the roll call is in progress. There are many here who are not willing to let the judgment of the states before them stand as their judgment in the ballot.

Mr. McKinley said:

In reply to that, I desire to say that you can suspend any rule you have by a two-thirds majority, and let us do it now.

Mr. Hart of West Virginia said:

I make a point of order that the motion is not in order pending a roll call. Every delegate on this floor has a right to vote and desires to do so.

The acting president said:

The rules of the fifty-first congress are in vogue and an eminent interpreter of those rules says that we may suspend the rules at any point by a two-thirds vote.

Mr. Hart said:

During the roll call, never.

The acting president said:

This is the ruling of a most distinguished parliamentarian.

Mr. McKinley then said:

Let me say one word. There are states, as I understand, that have not been reached that desire to record their vote. And their desire is to record their vote in the direction of my motion, and I therefore, to enable them to do that, withdraw my motion.

Mr. McKinley then resumed the chair.

The result of the ballot was then announced by the secretary as follows:

While number of votes cast .....	904 $\frac{1}{3}$
Necessary for a choice .....	453
Benjamin Harrison received .....	535 $\frac{1}{6}$
James G. Blaine .....	182 $\frac{1}{6}$
William McKinley .....	182
Thomas B. Reed .....	4
Robert T. Lincoln .....	1

Connecticut voted, Harrison 4, McKinley 8.

The announcement of the vote was received with great applause and cheering. The president said:

President Harrison having received a majority of all the votes cast, shall his nomination be made unanimous? Those favoring such action say "aye." Those opposed "no." The nomination is made unanimous.

Mr. Depew moved that the convention take a recess until 8 o'clock in the evening. The motion was carried, and at 4:45 P. M. the convention took a recess.

The convention was called to order at 8:55 P. M. by the president. He said: "The next order of business is



the presentation of candidates for Vice-President. The secretary will call the roll of states."

When New York was called Edmund O'Connor presented the name of Whitelaw Reid of New York. The nomination was seconded by Horace Porter of New York and Morgan G. Bulkeley.

J. T. Settle of Tennessee presented the name of Thomas B. Reed of Maine. The nomination was seconded by C. M. Louthan of Virginia.

Mr. Littlefield of Maine said that, in behalf of the Maine delegation, he asked the delegates to the convention to decline to cast any votes for Mr. Reed, as it was their opinion that Mr. Reed would decline the nomination if tendered him. Whereupon Mr. Louthan withdrew Mr. Reed's name. Mr. Hutchinson of West Virginia moved that the rules of the convention be suspended and Whitelaw Reid nominated by acclamation. The motion was carried unanimously.

Three cheers were given for Whitelaw Reid.

Whitelaw Reid, journalist, was born near Xenia, Ohio, October 27, 1837. He was graduated at Miami University in 1856, took an active interest in journalism and politics before attaining his majority; made speeches in the Fremont campaign on the Republican side and soon became editor of the XENIA NEWS. At the opening of the Civil War he was sent into the field as correspondent of the CINCINNATI GAZETTE, making his headquarters at Washington, whence his letters on current politics (under the signature of "Agate") attracted much attention by their thorough information and pungent style. He served as aide-de-camp to General Rosecrans in the western Virginia campaign of 1861, and was present at the battle of Shiloh and the battle of Gettysburg. In 1865 he came to New York at the invitation of Horace Greeley, and

became an editorial writer upon the TRIBUNE. On the death of Mr. Greeley in 1872, Mr. Reid succeeded him as editor and principal owner of the paper. In 1878 he was chosen by the legislature of New York to be a regent for life of the university. He was offered by President Hayes the post of minister to Germany, and a similar appointment by President Garfield, but declined both. In the spring of 1889, President Harrison appointed him minister to France. He accepted the position and discharged the duties most acceptably, negotiating important reciprocity treaties.

Senator Cullom of Illinois was called to the chair and Mr. Shepard of New York offered the following resolution:

*Resolved*, That the thanks of this convention and of the whole Republican party are due and tendered to Hon. William McKinley, Jr., of Ohio, for the splendid, impartial and courteous way in which he has discharged his duties as presiding officer of this convention. We wish Governor McKinley a prosperous administration in Ohio, health and happiness in his private life, and an increasing usefulness in the service of his country.

The motion was carried unanimously by a rising vote, and three cheers were given for Governor McKinley. The thanks of the convention were then tendered to the other officers of the convention and to the citizens of Minneapolis "for their liberality in their provision for the accommodation and comfort of all the delegates, their families and friends," by a rising vote, "with tremendous applause and three cheers." A resolution of thanks to the retiring national committee was then passed.

The roll was called to receive the names from the delegations of the committees to notify the nominees for President and Vice-President.

To notify the President, Connecticut named Morgan G. Bulkeley and to notify the Vice-President, James P. Platt.

William McKinley, by resolution, was named chairman of the committee to notify the nominee for President.

The convention then adjourned sine die.

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The committee to notify the nominee for President met at the Ebbitt House, Washington, June 20. At 1 o'clock the committee proceeded to the Executive Mansion, where they were met by about two hundred other guests and friends of President Harrison. Governor McKinley made a brief speech, officially informing the President of his nomination, to which the President, in acceptance, replied.

On June 21, the committee appointed to notify White-law Reid, the nominee for Vice-President, met at the Fifth Avenue Hotel, New York, at 9:30 o'clock and later went to Ophir Farm, in Westchester county, Mr. Reid's country home.

W. T. Durbin of Indiana, chairman of the committee, presented the committee to Mr. Reid and introduced Senator Dubois of Idaho to make the address, to which Mr. Reid briefly replied.

President Harrison's formal letter of acceptance was dated September 3 and Mr. Reid's October 18; both were quite lengthy.

The Democratic National Convention again nominated Grover Cleveland for President and Adlai E. Stevenson of Illinois for Vice-President. The campaign was an ex-

citing one, the tariff being the principal issue. The McKinley law was in full operation and the country was prospering under it, but for reasons not understood at the time, the Democrats were successful, Mr. Cleveland receiving 276 electoral votes to 145 for President Harrison. The popular vote was: Cleveland, 5,556,918; Harrison, 5,176,108.

Grover Cleveland was inaugurated March 4, 1893, as the successor to Benjamin Harrison.



**THE ELEVENTH  
REPUBLICAN NATIONAL  
CONVENTION**



WILLIAM MCKINLEY

REPUBLICAN  
CANDIDATES

1896



GARRET A. HOBART

THE  
ELEVENTH REPUBLICAN NATIONAL CONVENTION  
HELD AT ST. LOUIS, MO., JUNE 16-18, 1896

*For President*—WILLIAM MCKINLEY, of Ohio

*For Vice-President*—GARRET A. HOBART, of New Jersey

The eleventh Republican National convention was held in the Exposition Building, St. Louis, on June 16, 1896, and was called to order at 12:20 P. M. by Thomas H. Carter, chairman of the national committee. Prayer was offered by Rev. Dr. Samuel Sale. Joseph H. Manley, secretary of the committee, read the call for the convention.

Chairman Carter then said: "By direction of the national committee, I present, subject to your approval, for your temporary chairman, Hon. Charles W. Fairbanks of Indiana." The recommendation was unanimously approved, amid great applause. Mr. Fairbanks was then presented to the convention and made a lengthy speech. At the conclusion he "received an ovation."

Charles W. Fairbanks was born on a farm near Unionville Center, Union County, Ohio, May 11, 1852, son of Loriston

M. and Mary (Smith) Fairbanks. His father was a Vermont Yankee and was one of the early pioneers in the Buckeye State, where he located in 1836, and helped to carve that great state out of the wilderness. The son's earliest recollections were of work on the farm during the day and of study at night. He always had a great fondness for books and decided to be a lawyer before he entered college. He was educated at a district school, and at Ohio Wesleyan College, where he was graduated in 1872 with distinction. During his senior year at college he was editor of the college paper, known as the WESTERN COLLEGIAN. He acted as Associated Press agent in Cleveland for about a year, during which time he studied law and was admitted to the bar of the supreme court of Ohio at Columbus in 1874. In that same year he removed to Indianapolis, Ind., which has ever since been his residence, and entered upon the practice of his profession. He was chairman of the Indiana Republican state convention in 1892; was unanimously chosen as the nominee of the Republican caucus for United States senator in the Indiana legislature in January, 1893, and subsequently received the entire vote of his party in the legislature, but was defeated by David Turpie, Democrat. He was later elected a United States senator. Since 1885 he has been a trustee of the Ohio Wesleyan University (formerly Wesleyan College), and in 1889 built a gymnasium for the college largely at his own expense.

The other temporary officers were then appointed.

The roll of states and territories was called for members of the different committees. Connecticut named the following:

On Rules and Order of Business—John M. Douglas.

On Permanent Organization—James W. Cheney.

On Credentials—Hubert Williams.

On Resolutions—Samuel Fessenden.

On motion of General Grosvenor of Ohio the convention adjourned until the following day at 10 o'clock A. M.



The convention was called to order on Wednesday (the second day) at 10:45 A. M. Prayer was offered by Rev. Dr. W. G. Williams. The committee on permanent organization, Charles H. Grosvenor, chairman, then made its report. Hon. John M. Thurston of Nebraska was named as permanent chairman, with a vice-president from each state and territory. Connecticut named John I. Hutchinson for vice-president.

William J. Sewell of New Jersey and Sereno E. Payne of New York were appointed a committee to escort Senator Thurston to the chair. He was the temporary chairman of the 1888 convention and a brief sketch of his life was given in the paper on that convention. A great reception was tendered Senator Thurston as he mounted the platform, accompanied by the committee. He made a brief address. The convention then adjourned until 2 P. M.

The afternoon session was called to order at 2:35 o'clock. Prayer was offered by Bishop Arnett. J. Franklin Fort of New Jersey (now governor of that state) as chairman of the committee on credentials, then presented its report. There were contests in Delaware and Texas. The committee recommended the admission of the delegation from Delaware, headed by Anthony Higgins, and turned down J. Edward Addicks, who headed the opposing delegation.

Mr. Hepburn of Iowa presented a minority report. Both Mr. Fort and Mr. Hepburn made lengthy speeches in support of their respective sides, followed by General Grosvenor, who favored the majority report. The majority report was adopted in both cases. The following were among the prominent delegates and alternates from many of the states:

- Arkansas—Powell Clayton.
- California—John D. Spreckles, U. S. Grant and George A. Knight.
- Colorado—Henry M. Teller and Frank C. Goudy.
- Connecticut—Morgan G. Bulkeley, Samuel Fessenden, John M. Douglas, Charles E. Searls and Charles M. Jarvis.
- Delaware—Anthony Higgins and Henry A. Dupont.
- Idaho—F. T. Dubois.
- Illinois—Joseph W. Fifer, Richard J. Oglesby, Graeme Stewart, J. Otis Humphrey and William Lorimer.
- Indiana—Richard W. Thompson, Charles W. Fairbanks, Lew Wallace, Harry S. New and W. T. Durbin.
- Iowa—John H. Gear, W. P. Hepburn, John N. Baldwin, D. B. Henderson and J. S. Clarkson.
- Kansas—Cyrus Leland, Jr., Nathaniel Barnes and Thomas J. Anderson.
- Kentucky—W. J. Deboe, Leslie Coombs, W. G. Hunter and J. W. Yerkes.
- Louisiana—William Pitt Kellogg and Henry C. Warmouth.
- Maine—Amos L. Allen, Charles E. Littlefield, Edwin C. Burleigh and Harold M. Sewell.
- Maryland—George L. Wellington, James A. Gary, Felix Agnus and Sydney E. Mudd.
- Massachusetts—Henry Cabot Lodge, W. Murray Crane, Eben S. Draper, Curtis Guild, Jr., and William Whiting.
- Michigan—Russell A. Alger, John Duncan and Mark S. Brewer.
- Minnesota—Charles A. Pillsbury, R. G. Evans and William R. Merriam.
- Missouri—Chauncey I. Filley, William Warner and F. G. Niedringhaus.
- Montana—Thomas H. Carter and Lee Mantle.
- Nebraska—John M. Thurston, John L. Webster and Thomas P. Kennard.
- New Jersey—William J. Sewell, Garret A. Hobart, Franklin Murphy, John Kean, Frederick W. Roebling and J. Franklin Fort.

## 288 ELEVENTH REPUBLICAN NATIONAL CONVENTION

New York—Thomas C. Platt, Warner Miller, Chauncey M. Depew, Edward Lauterbach, Timothy L. Woodruff, Lisenard Stewart, Anson G. McCook, William H. Robertson, B. B. Odell, Jr., Frank S. Black, Frank Hiscock and Sereno E. Payne.

North Carolina—Jeter C. Pritchard.

Ohio—Joseph B. Foraker, Asa S. Bushnell, Charles H. Grosvenor and Mark Hanna.

Pennsylvania—Daniel H. Hastings, Edwin S. Stuart, William Flynn, John P. Elkin, C. L. Magee, Henry H. Bingham and M. S. Quay.

South Dakota—R. F. Pettigrew and David Williams.

Tennessee—H. Clay Evans, W. P. Brownlow, W. M. Randolph and Zachariah Taylor.

Utah—Frank G. Cannon and Arthur Brown.

Vermont—Redfield Proctor and Charles A. Prouty.

Virginia—William Lamb and S. M. Yost.

Wisconsin—Philetus Sawyer, W. D. Hoard and Robert La Follette.

The Connecticut delegates were the following:

### AT LARGE.

Morgan G. Bulkeley, Hartford; alternate, L. B. Plimpton, Hartford.

John I. Hutchinson, Essex; alternate, William F. Rockwell, Meriden.

Arthur H. Brewer, Norwich; alternate, Frederick Farnsworth, New London.

Samuel Fessenden, Stamford; alternate, Howard B. Scott, Danbury.

### DISTRICT.

First—James W. Cheney, South Manchester; alternate, Charles M. Jarvis, Berlin. George Sykes, Rockville; alternate, W. H. Prescott, Vernon.

Second—Rufus Blake, Derby; alternate, James Graham, Orange. John M. Douglas, Middletown; alternate, W. A. Brothwell, Chester.

Third—T. H. Allen, Sprague; alternate, James Pendleton, Stonington. Charles E. Searls, Thompson; alternate, Lucius H. Fuller Thompson.

Fourth—Edwin O. Keeler, Norwalk; alternate, John A. Rusling, Bridgeport. Hubert Williams, Salisbury; alternate, Rufus E. Holmes, Winsted.

Of the Connecticut delegates and alternates, Morgan G. Bulkeley, Samuel Fessenden and John M. Douglas have been mentioned in previous papers.

Arthur H. Brewer, a prominent citizen in Norwich for many years.

James W. Cheney, Charles M. Jarvis and George Sykes, leading manufacturers.

Charles E. Searls, secretary of state, 1881-1883, and later state senator.

Howard B. Scott, a prominent lawyer, judge of the city court, and later judge of the court of common pleas.

Edwin O. Keeler, senator, and lieutenant governor, 1901-1903.

The committee on rules and order of business then reported, through its chairman, Henry H. Bingham. The report was unanimously adopted. The convention then adjourned until the following day at 10 A. M.

On Thursday (the third day) the convention was called to order at 10:30 A. M. Prayer was offered by Rev. John R. Scott, a colored clergyman, of Florida.

The committee upon platform then reported through its chairman, Senator-elect Joseph B. Foraker. There was "a prolonged demonstration of applause upon Mr. Foraker's appearance upon the platform."

The resolutions were heartily cheered throughout.

When he read the resolution in favor of "sound money"; that "we are unalterably opposed to every measure calculated to debase our currency or impair the credit of our country"; that "we are therefore opposed to the free coinage of silver, except by international agreement with the leading commercial nations of the earth," the speaker "was interrupted by a demonstration of approval on the part of a large majority of the delegates, which lasted several minutes." Mr. Foraker, at the conclusion of the reading, moved the adoption of the report of the committee as the Republican national platform for 1896. The chairman said: "Gentlemen of the Convention: The adoption of the report has been moved and seconded. Are you ready for the question?"

There were cries of "question, question."

Senator Teller of Colorado here appeared upon the platform and "was vigorously cheered." The chairman said: "The chair recognizes the gentleman from Colorado, Senator Teller." Senator Teller here presented a minority report, which he requested the secretary to read.

The chairman said: "The gentleman from Colorado moves as a substitute the following, for what may be termed the financial plank of the platform, which the secretary will read." The secretary then read as follows:

We, the undersigned members of the committee on resolutions, being unable to agree with a portion of the majority report which treats of the subject of coinage and finances, respectfully submit the following paragraph as a substitute therefor:

"The Republican party authorizes the use of both gold and silver as equal standard money, and pledges its power to secure the free and unlimited coinage of gold and silver at our mints at the ratio of sixteen parts of silver to one of gold."

Senator Teller was here recognized by the chairman and made a lengthy speech in favor of his substitute resolution. As he concluded his speech, he "received an ovation from the silver men."

Mr. Foraker said: "I move you, Mr. Chairman, that the motion to substitute be laid on the table." Senator Lodge seconded the motion. The roll of states was called and resulted as follows: Ayes, 818½, noes 105½; so the substitute was laid on the table. Connecticut voted 12 aye.

The taking of this vote created great excitement in the convention. The vote of several states was challenged and the delegations polled. The announcement of the result was greeted with great applause.

A separate vote was then taken on the financial plank of the platform, and resulted as follows: Ayes 812½, noes 110½. Connecticut voted 12 aye. The balance of the platform was then adopted by an almost unanimous vote, amid great applause.

#### THE PLATFORM.

The Republicans of the United States, assembled by their representatives in National Convention, appealing for the popular and historical justification of their claims to the matchless achievements of thirty years of Republican rule, earnestly and confidently address themselves to the awakened intelligence, experience and conscience of their countrymen in the following declaration of facts and principles:

For the first time since the Civil War the American people have witnessed the calamitous consequences of full and unrestricted Democratic control of the government. It has been a record of unparalleled incapacity, dishonor, and disaster. In administrative management it has ruthlessly sacrificed indispensable revenue, entailed an unceasing deficit, eked out

ordinary current expenses with borrowed money, piled up the public debt by \$262,000,000, in a time of peace, forced an adverse balance of trade, kept a perpetual menace hanging over the redemption fund, pawned American credit to alien syndicates and reversed all the measures and results of successful Republican rule. In the broad effect of its policy it has precipitated panic, blighted industry and trade with prolonged depression, closed factories, reduced work and wages, halted enterprise and crippled American production, while stimulating foreign production for the American market. Every consideration of public safety and individual interest demands that the government shall be wrested from the hands of those who have shown themselves incapable of conducting it without disaster at home and dishonor abroad and that it shall be restored to the party which for thirty years administered it with unequal success and prosperity. And in this connection, we heartily endorse the wisdom, patriotism and success of the administration of Benjamin Harrison. We renew and emphasize our allegiance to the policy of protection, as the bulwark of American industrial independence, and the foundation of American development and prosperity. This true American policy taxes foreign products and encourages home industries. It puts the burden of revenue on foreign goods; it secures the American market for the American producers. •It upholds the American standard of wages for the American workingman; it puts the factory by the side of the farm and makes the American farmer less dependent on foreign demand and prices; it diffuses general thrift, and founds the strength of all on the strength of each. In its reasonable application it is just, fair and impartial, equally opposed to foreign control and domestic monopoly, to sectional discrimination and individual favoritism.

We denounce the present tariff as sectional, injurious to the public credit and destructive to business enterprise. We demand such an equitable tariff on foreign imports which come into competition with the American product as will not only furnish adequate revenue for the necessary expenses of the

government, but will protect American labor from degradation and the wage level of other lands. We are not pledged to any particular schedule. The question of rates is a practical question, to be governed by the conditions of the time and of production. The ruling and uncompromising principle is the protection and development of American labor and industries. The country demands a right settlement, and then it wants rest.

We believe the repeal of the reciprocity arrangements negotiated by the last Republican administration was a national calamity, and demand their renewal and extension on such terms as will equalize our trade with other nations, remove the restriction which now obstructs the sale of American products in the ports of other countries, and secure and enlarge markets for the products of our farms, forests, and factories.

Protection and Reciprocity are twin measures of American policy and go hand in hand. Democratic rule has recklessly struck down both, and both must be re-established. Protection for what we produce; free admission for the necessities of life which we do not produce; reciprocal agreement of mutual interest, which gain open markets for us in return for our open markets for others. Protection builds up domestic industry and trade and secures our own market for ourselves; reciprocity builds up foreign trade and finds an outlet for our surplus. We condemn the present administration for not keeping pace with the sugar producers of this country. The Republican party favors such protection as will lead to the production on American soil of all the sugar which the American people use, and for which they pay other countries more than one hundred million dollars annually. To all our products; to those of the mine and the field, as well as to those of the shop and the factory, to the hemp and wool, the product of the great industry of sheep husbandry; as well as to the foundry, as to the mill, we promise the most ample protection. We favor the early American policy of discriminating duties for the upbuilding of our merchant marine. To the protec-



tion of our shipping in the foreign-carrying trade, so that American ships, the product of American labor, employed in American shipyards, sailing under the stars and stripes, and manned, officered and owned by Americans, may regain the carrying of our foreign commerce.

The Republican party is unreservedly for sound money. It caused the enactment of a law providing for the redemption of specie payments in 1879. Since then every dollar has been as good as gold. We are unalterably opposed to every measure calculated to debase our currency or impair the credit of our country. We are therefore opposed to the free coinage of silver, except by international agreement with the leading commercial nations of the earth, which agreement we pledge ourselves to promote, and until such agreement can be obtained the existing gold standard must be maintained. All of our silver and paper currency must be maintained at parity with gold, and we favor all measures designed to maintain inviolable the obligations of the United States of all our money, whether coin or paper, at the present standard, the standard of most enlightened nations of the earth.

The veterans of the Union armies deserve and should receive fair treatment and generous recognition. Whenever practicable they should be given the preference in the matter of employment. And they are entitled to the enactment of such laws as are best calculated to secure the fulfillment of the pledges made to them in the dark days of the country's peril.

We denounce the practice in the pension bureau so recklessly and unjustly carried on by the present administration of reducing pensions and arbitrarily dropping names from the roll, as deserving the severest condemnation of the American people.

Our foreign policy should be at all times firm, vigorous and dignified, and all our interests in the Western hemisphere should be carefully watched and guarded.

The Hawaiian Islands should be controlled by the United States and no foreign power should be permitted to interfere with them. The Nicaraguan Canal should be built,

owned and operated by the United States. And, by the purchase of the Danish Islands we should secure a much needed naval station in the West Indies.

The massacres in Armenia have aroused the deep sympathy and just indignation of the American people, and we believe that the United States should exercise all the influence it can properly exert to bring these atrocities to an end. In Turkey, American residents have been exposed to grievous dangers and American property destroyed. There, as everywhere else, American citizens and American property must be absolutely protected at all hazards and at any cost.

We reassert the Monroe Doctrine in its full extent, and we reaffirm the rights of the United States to give the doctrine effect by responding to the appeal of any American state for the friendly intervention in case of European encroachment.

We have not interfered and shall not interfere, with the existing possession of any European power in this hemisphere, but those possessions must not, on any pretext, be extended.

We hopefully look forward to the eventual withdrawal of the European powers from this hemisphere, and to the ultimate union of all the English speaking parts of the continent by the free consent of its inhabitants; from the hour of achieving their own independence the people of the United States having regarded with sympathy the struggles of other American peoples to free themselves from European domination. We watch with deep and abiding interest the heroic battles of the Cuban patriots against cruelty and oppression, and our best hopes go out for the full success of their determined contest for liberty. The government of Spain, having lost control of Cuba, and being unable to protect the property or the lives of the resident American citizens, or to comply with its treaty obligations, we believe that the government of the United States should actively use its influence and good offices to restore peace and give independence to the Island.

The peace and security of the Republic and the maintenance of its rightful influence among the nations of the earth de-

mand a naval power commensurate with its position and responsibilities. We, therefore favor the continued enlargement of the navy, and a complete system of harbor and sea-coast defenses.

For the protection of the equality of our American citizenship and of the wages of our workingmen, against the fatal competition of low priced labor, we demand that the immigration laws be thoroughly enforced, and so extended as to exclude from entrance to the United States those who can neither read or write.

The civil service law was placed on the statute book by the Republican party, which has always sustained it, and we renew our repeated declarations that it shall be thoroughly and heartily and honestly enforced and extended wherever practicable.

We demand that every citizen of the United States shall be allowed to cast one free and unrestricted ballot, and that such ballot shall be counted and returned as cash.

We proclaim our unqualified condemnation of the uncivilized and preposterous practice well known as lynching, and the killing of human beings suspected or charged with crime without process of law.

We favor the creation of a National Board of Arbitration to settle and adjust differences which may arise between employers and employes engaged in interstate commerce.

We believe in an immediate return to the free homestead policy of the Republican party, and urge the passage by Congress of the satisfactory free homestead measure, which has already passed the house, and is now pending in the senate.

We favor the admission of the remaining territories at the earliest practicable date, having due regard to the interests of the people of the territories and of the United States. And the federal officers appointed for the territories should be selected from the bona-fide residents thereof, and the right of self-government should be accorded them as far as practicable.

We believe that the citizens of Alaska should have represen-

tation in the congress of the United States, to the end that needful legislation may be intelligently enacted.

We sympathize fully with all legitimate efforts to lessen and prevent the evils of intemperance and promote morality. The Republican party is mindful of the rights and interests of women, and believes that they should be accorded equal opportunities, equal pay for equal work, and protection in the home. We favor the admission of women to wider spheres of usefulness and welcome their co-operation in rescuing the country from Democratic and Populistic mismanagement and misrule.

Such are the principles and policies of the Republican party. By these principles we will apply it to those policies and put them into execution. We rely on the faithful and considerate judgment of the American people, confident alike of the history of our great party and in the justice of our cause, and we present our platform and our candidates in the full assurance that their selection will bring victory to the Republican party, and prosperity to the people of the United States.

Immediately after the announcement of the adoption of the platform, Senator Teller appeared on the platform and "in a low voice" informed the chair that he had an important communication to present to the convention. The chair said: "The gentleman from Colorado rises to a question of privilege." Senator Teller said: "Mr. Chairman, we have prepared a statement which, with the permission of the chair, will be read by Senator Cannon of Utah." The statement was then read by Senator Cannon, in which was given the position of the silver men upon the financial question, and in which they also upheld the course they had taken in the convention, and announcing their withdrawal therefrom.

The statement was signed by a committee in behalf of the withdrawing delegates. The names of the committee

were: Henry M. Teller of Colorado, F. T. Dubois of Idaho, Frank J. Cannon of Utah, Charles A. Hartman of Montana, R. F. Pettigrew of South Dakota and A. C. Cleveland of Nevada. Upon completing the reading of the statement, Senator Cannon shook hands with Senator Thurston (the chairman) and Mr. Foraker, and withdrew from the platform.

"This incident was followed by the withdrawal of the silver delegates from the convention, amid great excitement and a magnificent demonstration upon the part of the remaining delegates, who tried to out-tire each other in demonstrations of loyalty to the party and its principles. 'The Red, White and Blue,' 'America' and other patriotic songs were played by the band, joined in by one grand chorus from the audience, which continued for some minutes." When quiet was restored, the chair proceeded as follows:

Gentlemen of the Convention: There seem to be enough delegates left to transact the business of the convention.

The remark of the chairman was received "with a general uproar and laughter." The convention then listened to Senator Mantle of Montana and Senator Brown of Utah, who remained in the convention. Senator Mantle later withdrew. Members of the new national committee were then named. Connecticut again chose Samuel Fessenden.

The chairman then said: "The regular order of business is the roll call of states for the presentation of candidates for nomination." Since the convention of 1892 it had seemed a strong probability that this convention (in 1896) would nominate Major McKinley as the candidate for President. It is more than possible that he

would have been nominated in 1888, in the place of Benjamin Harrison, had he not, in an earnest speech, demanded that no delegate should vote for him, thus showing his loyalty to John Sherman, whose sincere supporter he was.

As the time approached for the meeting of the 1896 convention, Mr. McKinley's strength continued to grow rapidly. His great ability, his record in the Republican party in congress and on the stump, his championship of home industries and a protective tariff, his record as governor of Ohio, together with his amiable disposition and personal magnetism, all marked him as the coming man. Many states throughout the country had instructed their delegates for him, while others had announced him as their personal choice. When the convention met, McKinley's nomination seemed assured. He had an able and shrewd campaign manager in the person of Mark A. Hanna, who had been his personal friend and admirer for many years. Mr. Hanna, who had been working in Major McKinley's behalf, with headquarters at Cleveland, a few days before the meeting of the convention moved them to St. Louis and personally took charge, with many able lieutenants. Their labors were so effective that when Joseph H. Manley of Maine (who in the past had been an efficient manager for Mr. Blaine) arrived at St. Louis, he quickly discovered the situation, and was inclined to give up the contest in the interest of Thomas B. Reed, whose political manager he was in this campaign. It was then that Samuel Fessenden appeared upon the scene and, when he saw what the state of Mr. Manley's mind was, made the famous remark: "Joe, God Almighty hates a quitter!" Mr. Hanna was made chairman of the national committee. Mr. Reed was con-

sidered to be the only at all prominent candidate against Major McKinley, but the ballot showed that he was not even that. Senator Allison had been mentioned, and also Senator Quay of Pennsylvania and Governor Morton of New York. The roll of states was called and no response was made until the state of Iowa was reached.

John N. Baldwin of that state presented the name of Senator William B. Allison. "An ovation followed the conclusion of Mr. Baldwin's remarks, the Iowa delegation being especially enthusiastic." The roll call was continued, but no response until Maine was reached, when Henry Cabot Lodge presented the name of Thomas B. Reed, the speaker of the national house of representatives. "The mention of Mr. Reed's name was received with a great ovation, lasting several minutes." Mr. Littlefield of Maine seconded the nomination.

When New York was reached Chauncey M. Depew took the platform and presented the name of Levi P. Morton. "The appearance of Mr. Depew was the signal for a great ovation, in which the whole body of delegates took part. Prolonged applause followed his remarks."

When Ohio was called, Mr. Foraker responded. "Upon his appearance upon the platform he was accorded a splendid reception, the whole house joining in the applause." Mr. Foraker presented the name of William McKinley, Jr. He did not mention McKinley's name until about the middle of his speech, when "the convention became uncontrollable by the chairman, the ovation which greeted the name of McKinley lasting twenty-five minutes." There was another ovation when Mr. Foraker finished. Chairman Hepburn here recognized John

M. Thurston, who retired, temporarily, from the chair, for the purpose of seconding Major McKinley's nomination. There was "great applause" when he finished.

Daniel H. Hastings presented the name of Matthew S. Quay. "At the conclusion of Governor Hastings's speech, a grand reception was accorded the name of Senator Quay which lasted seventeen minutes."

J. Madison Vance of Louisiana briefly seconded the nomination of William McKinley. The roll of states for the vote upon the nomination of a candidate for President was then called and the balloting began and resulted as follows:

Whole number of votes cast .....	961
Necessary to a choice .....	451
William McKinley .....	661½
Thomas B. Reed .....	84½
Levi P. Morton .....	58
William B. Allison .....	35½
Matthew S. Quay .....	61½

Connecticut voted: McKinley 7, Reed 5. The vote in many states was challenged and the delegates polled.

"When Chairman Thurston attempted to announce the vote the pent-up enthusiasm of the great assemblage cut him off short. He started with the vote for McKinley, but he did not finish that. 'McKinley, six hundred and six'—the rest was taken for granted, and the assemblage was precipitated into a great outburst of cheers and whoops and yells and the usual concomitant of such a tumult at a presidential convention, with flags, plumes of the national colors, tin horns, umbrellas and everything which could be brought in motion in the hands of the howling thousands. Pandemonium reigned in the pit,



and it reigned in the galleries. Men embraced each other, and some of the delegates shed tears of joy. The ladies waved handkerchiefs and flags, and some of them applauded vigorously, while many more actually cheered. The band broke out with 'America' and from the outside came the boom of a cannon, while a large portrait of McKinley framed with the national colors was raised over the main entrance, which caused another wild renewal of the cheering."

Senator Lodge moved to make the nomination of Major McKinley unanimous. The motion was seconded by Mr. Hastings of Pennsylvania, Thomas C. Platt of New York, D. B. Henderson of Iowa, and Chauncey M. Depew.

Mr. Hanna was loudly called for and finally yielded to the entreaties of the audience and made a brief response. The nomination of William McKinley was then declared unanimous, "the whole convention rising to its feet as one man, amid a tumult of applause." The convention then proceeded to nominate a candidate for Vice-President. The roll of states was called, and, when Connecticut was reached, Samuel Fessenden mounted the platform and nominated Morgan G. Bulkeley. The nomination was received with applause. When New Jersey was called, J. Franklin Fort presented the name of Garret A. Hobart, "New Jersey's favorite son." The nomination was greeted with applause. It was seconded by J. Otis Humphrey of Illinois. Rhode Island presented the name of Charles Warren Lippitt. When Tennessee was called, W. M. Randolph nominated H. Clay Evans. The nomination was seconded by John P. Smith of Kentucky and R. M. La Follette of Wisconsin.

Virginia, through D. F. Bailey, presented the name of James A. Walker. A. B. White of West Virginia seconded the nomination of Garret A. Hobart.

The roll of states was then called and the balloting began, resulting as follows:

Whole number of votes cast .....	893
Necessary to a choice .....	447
Garret A. Hobart .....	533½
H. Clay Evans .....	280½
Morgan G. Bulkeley .....	39
James A. Walker .....	24
Charles Warren Lippitt .....	8
Frederick D. Grant .....	2
Chauncey M. Depew .....	3
Levi P. Morton .....	1
John M. Thurston .....	2

The nomination of Garret A. Hobart was made unanimous by a rising vote, amid great enthusiasm.

A resolution was passed that the permanent chairman of the convention, John M. Thurston, be appointed chairman of the committee to notify William McKinley of his nomination for President, and the temporary chairman, Charles W. Fairbanks, be appointed chairman of the committee to notify the Vice-Presidential nominee, Garret A. Hobart, of his nomination. A notification committee of one from each state and territory was then named.

Connecticut appointed George Sykes a member of the committee to notify the Presidential candidate, and Edwin O. Keeler to notify the candidate for Vice-President. The usual votes of thanks to the officers of the convention, the people of St. Louis and the local committees, were passed and the convention adjourned sine die.

The committee to notify Major McKinley visited him at his home in Canton, O., on June 28, and the speech of notification was made by Mr. Thurston, to which Major McKinley responded in acceptance of the nomination. The committee to notify Garret A. Hobart went to Mr. Hobart's house at Paterson, N. J., on July 7. Mr. Fairbanks made the speech of notification, to which Mr. Hobart responded. Major McKinley's letter of acceptance was dated August 26 and that of Mr. Hobart September 9. A brief sketch of Major McKinley's life was given in the paper describing the 1888 convention at Minneapolis, over which convention Major McKinley presided.

#### GARRET A. HOBART.

Garret A. Hobart was born in Monmouth County, New Jersey, June 3, 1844. His early education was obtained in the common schools of Newark and Paterson neighborhood. Later, at the age of 17, he entered Rutgers College, New Brunswick, and spent four years there, graduating with high honors when 21 years old. He went to Paterson and commenced the study of law. After studying three years in a law office there, he was admitted to the practice of law in the state of New Jersey, and worked up a large and remunerative practice, being counsel of the city and county governments. He was early identified with politics, but sought no political office until 1873, when he was elected a member of the legislature. He was re-elected the next year and was made speaker of the assembly by a unanimous vote of his colleagues. In 1875 he was elected a senator from the Paterson district, and three years later became president of the senate. A number of times he was solicited to accept the nomination for congressman from his home district, but always declined. In 1880, he was the Republican nominee for United States senator, the legislature then being Demo-

cratic. Mr. Hobart was chairman of the Republican state executive committee for twelve years and the New Jersey member of the national committee since 1884. He was one of the receivers of the New Jersey Midland railroad and later the sole receiver. In 1885 he was appointed one of three arbitrators for the Joint Traffic Association lines, including thirty-two lines. Mr. Hobart was in public life in New Jersey since he was 23 years of age and a short time before his nomination for the vice-presidency participated in the state campaign which resulted in the election of John W. Griggs, the first Republican governor the state had had in thirty years.

With the election of Grover Cleveland in November, 1892, the Democratic party gained control, for the first time since the war, of every branch of the federal government. The party being known as in favor of free trade and against protection to home industries, the business of the country became depressed, not knowing what the party would do upon the tariff question. The winter of 1892-'93 passed, with business in suspense. Mr. Cleveland was inaugurated March 4, 1893, and allowed the matter to drift through the following summer and autumn until congress met in December. Then the Democratic members worked over the matter until the next summer, when the so-called Wilson bill was passed by the house. This bill the senate, under the leadership of Senator Gorman, would not accept without amendments which favored protection to some extent. These amendments passed the senate; the bill went back to the house and was fought over in the conference committee and finally passed with Senator Gorman's amendments. President Cleveland would not sign the bill, but let it become a law without his signature. He denounced the bill as "perfidious."

ous." In the meantime business had been, to a great extent, prostrated, on account of the suspense attending the settlement question.

At the next congressional election, in 1894, the Republicans carried the house of representatives by an overwhelming majority (140) and made gains in the senate, which at the next election became Republican again. In 1895 the question of free silver began to be agitated to quite an extent at the West and South, and controlled the Democratic party in those sections. President Cleveland had taken a strong stand against free silver, as had also many of the leading Democrats at the North and East. As the time approached for the meeting of the Democratic National Convention the question excited great interest and many contests within the party. It was supposed that the gold men would control the convention, until about the time it was held. The contest in the Chicago convention is still fresh in the minds of the people. How the free silver men got the control of the convention; the withdrawal of the gold men, Bryan's "cross of gold and crown of thorns" speech; his subsequent nomination; the campaign through the summer and fall; the addresses of Major McKinley from the porch of his home at Canton; the thousands of Democrats who bolted Bryan's nomination and declared for McKinley; the Democratic papers that also declared for McKinley, and the enthusiasm with which McKinley was supported throughout the country. The contest was one long to be remembered and resulted in the overwhelming election of McKinley, with a large Republican majority in both houses of congress. He had 271 electoral votes to 176

for Bryan, and 7,107,304 popular votes to 6,292,423 for Bryan and 240,657 for the Populist candidate.

William McKinley was inaugurated President of the United States March 4, 1897, as the successor to Grover Cleveland.



**THE TWELFTH  
REPUBLICAN NATIONAL  
CONVENTION**





WILLIAM MCKINLEY

REPUBLICAN  
CANDIDATES

1900



THEODORE ROOSEVELT

THE  
TWELFTH REPUBLICAN NATIONAL CONVENTION  
HELD AT PHILADELPHIA, PA., JUNE 19-21, 1900

*For President*—WILLIAM MCKINLEY, of Ohio

*For Vice-President*—THEODORE ROOSEVELT, of New York

The twelfth Republican National Convention assembled in Philadelphia in June, 1900. William McKinley had already been President of the United States for over three years. Garret A. Hobart, the Vice-President, had died during his term of office at Paterson, N. J., on November 2, 1899. The three years of President McKinley's term had been noted ones in the history of the country. Under his administration a decided increase in business prosperity followed the passage of the Dingley tariff measure. The most important event was the Spanish-American war, which he had believed might be prevented and had done all in his power to avert. When later hostilities broke out on the part of certain inhabitants in the Philippine Islands the President appointed a commission to study the situation and report on the most

suitable mode of government for the new territory. On July 7, 1898, he approved the joint resolution of congress for the annexation of the Hawaiian Islands, and in 1898 he also selected a delegation to represent the United States in the Hague peace conference, which convened in May, the original peace conference having rendered a report.

On January 1, 1900, the President appointed a new commission to the Philippines known for its head, William H. Taft, as the "Taft Commission," under whom civil government was instituted September 1, 1900. In 1900 the President stood for justice in the settlement of difficulties in China, which marked the summer. President McKinley retained his popularity and hold upon the country to a remarkable degree. As has been stated in previous papers he twice declined absolutely to permit a National Convention to consider him for the Presidency in 1888 and 1892, and would not accept a nomination until 1896.

As the time approached for the meeting of the National Convention, it was a foregone conclusion that President McKinley would be renominated unanimously and no other name was for a moment considered for the place. Mr. Hobart having died, it was also known that a new man would have to be chosen as the candidate for the Vice-Presidency and several names had been mentioned for the place, the most prominent being that of Theodore Roosevelt, then governor of New York. It was considered that the ticket of McKinley and Roosevelt would be an ideal one and would be immensely strong and popular with the people of the country. But would Roosevelt accept the place? That was the question, and it

became a very important one after the delegates had assembled at Philadelphia and were canvassing the situation. Roosevelt was the hero of the convention. Wherever he went he was followed by cheering crowds and met with enthusiastic demonstrations. He, at first and for several days, declined to listen to the appeals made to him to allow his name to be used for the nomination. He said the place would not be congenial to him, besides he would greatly prefer to serve another term as governor of New York. It was thought at the time, and the impression probably exists today, that some of the leading business and political interests of New York, city and state, represented by Senator Platt and others, did not wish Roosevelt to be re-elected governor, and that to nominate him for Vice-President would put him on the shelf. However (though strongly against his wishes) the delegates were for him in large numbers, especially from the West, and were determined to nominate him, unless he persistently and absolutely refused.

Meanwhile other candidates were mentioned, among them Cornelius N. Bliss, former secretary of the interior; John D. Long, then secretary of the navy, and J. P. Dolliver, member of congress from Iowa. Senator Hanna's choice was Mr. Bliss. Connecticut had voted to support Mr. Dolliver and New York had voted to support Timothy L. Woodruff. Finally, however, Mr. Roosevelt was induced to accept and the contest then ended, for it was known that he would receive the unanimous vote of the convention.

The delegates and alternates from Connecticut to the convention were the following:

## AT LARGE.

Linus B. Plimpton, Hartford; alternate, William C. Cheney, South Manchester.

Charles F. Brooker, Ansonia; alternate, Samuel P. Calef, Middletown.

Edwin Milner, Plainfield; alternate, F. B. Brandegge, New London.

J. Deming Perkins, Litchfield; alternate, R. Jay Walsh, Greenwich.

## DISTRICT.

First—Andrew J. Sloper, New Britain; alternate, Isadore Wise, Hartford. Francis T. Maxwell, Rockville; alternate, Edward E. Fuller, Tolland.

Second—William F. Rockwell, Meriden; alternate, Frederick E. Gaylord, Ansonia. M. W. Potter, Deep River; alternate, J. B. Holman, Old Saybrook.

Third—Frederick F. Farnsworth, New London; alternate, F. H. Hinckley, Mystic. George A. Hammond, Putnam; alternate, Charles N. Daniels, Willimantic.

Fourth—Henry H. Bridgman, Norfolk; alternate, R. J. Plumb, Plymouth. William E. Seeley, Bridgeport; alternate, John R. Hill, Danbury.

The convention met in Convention Hall on Tuesday, June 19. This hall had been originally built for the National Export Exposition, and with some alterations, was made an ideal place for the convention and would seat about 15,000 people. The citizens of Philadelphia, regardless of party, had been very public spirited in the matter and had agreed to contribute \$100,000 in order to secure the convention. They sent a large delegation to Washington to attend the meeting of the national committee on the 15th of December previous, to present the claims of their city. Chicago was their principal rival

and Philadelphia won on the third ballot, the vote being 25 for Philadelphia to 24 for Chicago.

The convention assembled at 12:30 P. M. the first day and was called to order by Marcus A. Hanna of Ohio, chairman of the Republican national committee. Prayer was offered by Rev. James Gray Bolton, D.D. Charles Dick, secretary of the committee, read the call for the convention. Chairman Hanna then made a brief address, which was enthusiastically received. He then presented Hon. Edward O. Wolcott of Colorado as the temporary presiding officer of the convention. Mr. Wolcott delivered an able address upon the questions at issue.

Mr. Wolcott was born in Hampden County, Massachusetts, in March, 1848. In 1862 he went to Cleveland, O., with his family, and during the Civil War was enlisted with the One Hundred and Fifth Ohio Regiment for a few months. He entered Yale in 1866, but did not complete his course, and was graduated from the Harvard Law School in 1871. He then went to Colorado, where he established a law office in Georgetown, Clear Creek County. In 1876 he was elected district attorney for the first judicial district of the state, and before the expiration of his term cleared the docket of all criminal cases. In 1878 he was elected to the state senate, where he became the Republican leader. In 1879 he was made the attorney for the Denver & Rio Grande railroad; settled in Denver, where he built up a large private practice, and in 1884 was appointed general counsel of the same road. In 1888 he was elected to the United States senate and re-elected in 1894. There he was known as an earnest advocate of bi-metallism; in 1896, however, he refused to support the free silver platform of the Democratic party and continued his affiliation with the Republican party. He was an able and eloquent speaker.

After Mr. Wolcott's address, the remaining temporary officers were appointed. A resolution was passed that until a permanent organization of the convention was effected, the convention be governed by the rules of the last Republican convention. The roll of states and territories was then called for the names of members of the different committees. Connecticut named the following:

On Permanent Organization—J. Deming Perkins.

On Rules and Order of Business—Charles F. Brooker.

On Credentials—Edwin Milner.

On Resolutions—William E. Seeley.

Joseph G. Cannon moved that the convention adjourn until 12 noon the following day. The temporary chairman asked Mr. Cannon to withdraw his motion for a moment, to which Mr. Cannon readily assented. The temporary chairman then said: "The chair desires to state to the convention that there is upon the platform the Rev. Dr. Levy, who forty-four years ago today offered prayer at the first Republican National Convention. The Rev. Dr. Levy will now offer prayer."

After the prayer Mr. Cannon renewed his motion and the convention at 3 P. M. adjourned until the following day at 12 noon.

The convention reassembled at 12:30 P. M. on Wednesday (the second day). Prayer was offered by Rev. Charles M. Boswell, D.D. The temporary chairman then said: "Gentleman of the convention, there are present here today a body of survivors of the first Republican convention, held in Pittsburg and Philadelphia

forty-four years ago. They bring with them the same old flag that was used in the convention, and with your permission, I will ask him to step to the front of the stage, and then will have read some resolutions which have been prepared." At that moment a file of white-haired patriachs appeared from the rear, bearing a faded American flag, tattered and barely held together by a cross staff. As the flag appeared the entire audience rose, and a deafening salute went up for the faded standard and its venerable upholders. The white-haired men ranged themselves side by side, looking out on the sea of faces. Alongside the flag another standard bore the inscription:

"National Fremont Association,  
Republican Party.  
Organized February 22, 1856.  
At Pittsburg, Penn."

When the applause had subsided, the leader of the delegation (General Hawley) presented resolutions, declaring their unwavering allegiance to the party they had helped to bring forth. Those who were thus presented to the convention were the following:

General Joseph R. Hawley, Connecticut.  
S. Woodward, George Schneider, Illinois.  
Jacob Fussell, Maryland.  
D. T. Appleton, New York.  
Judge Rush R. Sloane, General B. D. Brinkerhoff, Ohio.  
John Jacobs, Walter Laing, G. W. Holstein, M.D., Edgar M. Levy, D.D., Jacob Wyand, Pennsylvania.  
George H. Bell, Rhode Island.

This was the last Republican National Convention ever witnessed by General Hawley.

Sereno E. Payne of New York, chairman of the committee on credentials, then presented the report of the committee, which was unanimously adopted.

The roll of delegates and alternates as made up contained many prominent Republicans from every state, among whom were the following:

California—U. S. Grant, George C. Pardee and George A. Knight.

Colorado—Edward O. Wolcott and David H. Moffat.

Connecticut—Charles F. Brooker, Edwin Milner, J. Deming Perkins, Andrew J. Sloper, William F. Rockwell, Henry H. Bridgman, Frank B. Brandegee, Francis T. Maxwell, William E. Seeley and Frederick E. Gaylord.

Idaho—George L. Shoup.

Illinois—Joseph G. Cannon, Charles S. Deneen, William Lorimer and Frank O. Lowden.

Indiana—Charles W. Fairbanks, A. J. Beveridge, James A. Mount and Charles S. Hernley.

Iowa—Leslie M. Shaw, Lafayette Young and George W. French.

Kentucky—W. S. Taylor, W. O. Bradley and George Denny.

Maine—Joseph H. Manley and George W. Norton.

Maryland—Louis E. McComas, Sydney E. Mudd and Philip L. Goldsborough.

Massachusetts—Henry Cabot Lodge, Samuel W. McCall, William B. Plunkett and Jesse M. Gove.

Minnesota—Cushman K. Davis, Knute Nelson and Thomas Lowry.

Mississippi—John R. Lynch and James Hill.

Montana—Thomas H. Carter.

Nebraska—John M. Thurston and Edward Rosewater.

New Hampshire—Jacob H. Gallinger, Frank Jones and John McLane.

New Jersey—William J. Sewell, Foster M. Voorhees, William Barbour, Franklin Murphy and Barker Gunmere, Jr.



New York—Thomas C. Platt, Chauncey M. Depew, Theodore Roosevelt, B. B. Odell, Jr., Cornelius N. Bliss, Edward Lauterbach, Francis V. Greene, Frank S. Black, Louis F. Payne, Leslie W. Russell, George B. Sloan and Sereno E. Payne.

North Carolina—Jeter C. Pritchard.

North Dakota—H. S. Hansbrough and Porter McCumber.

Ohio—George K. Nash, J. B. Foraker, Charles H. Grosvenor, Charles Dick and Charles P. Taft.

Pennsylvania—M. S. Quay, Frank Reeder, H. H. Bingham, Boies Penrose, C. L. Magee and William Flinn.

Tennessee—W. P. Brownlow and S. W. Hawkins.

Wisconsin—Isaac Stephenson, Joseph B. Treat, Charles Elkert and Levi Withee.

Wyoming—Francis E. Warren and Clarence D. Clarke.

Charles H. Grosvenor of Ohio then presented the report of the committee on permanent organization, which was agreed to unanimously. Hon. Henry Cabot Lodge was selected for permanent chairman of the convention.

The chair appointed as a committee to escort Mr. Lodge to the platform, Governor Shaw of Iowa and Governor Roosevelt of New York. The permanent chairman was presented and made an eloquent address.

Henry Cabot Lodge was born in Boston, May 2, 1850. He graduated from Harvard College in 1871, and from the Harvard Law School in 1875, was admitted to the bar in 1876. In 1873-'76 he was editor of the NORTH AMERICAN REVIEW, was lecturing on history at Harvard till 1879, when he became editor of the INTERNATIONAL REVIEW till 1881. Becoming active in political life, he served two terms in the Massachusetts legislature; was elected to congress in 1886 and served till 1893, when he was elected to the United States senate and was re-elected in 1899. He was also a delegate-at-large to the Republican National Conventions in 1884 and 1896. He has strongly advocated protection and the restric-

tion of immigration and the protection of the franchise by educational qualifications; he was a strong supporter of the policy of the administration during the Spanish War and in regard to the Philippines, and was made chairman of the senate committee on foreign relations. For many years he has been an intimate friend and a great admirer of Theodore Roosevelt.

A gavel of some historical interest was presented by the Republican delegates and alternates from Rhode Island, for which the chairman returned thanks. John W. Langley of Kentucky arose and said:

"Mr. Chairman: I desire to present a gavel from the mountains of Kentucky." The chairman said: "The gentleman from Kentucky is recognized." Mr. Langley then said: "Mr. Chairman and gentlemen of the convention: Up among Kentucky's mountains, in the valley of the Big Sandy, there is a humble country home, wherein dwells an old man—a soldier of republicanism—who has spent his life batt'ing for the redemption of Kentucky from the thralldom of Democracy. He lives at the foot of the hill upon whose summit the great Garfield won a general's star. That home is my home; that old man is my father. He has asked me, Mr. Chairman, to present this gavel to you. It is an unpretentious offering from a modest man, but to me the request bears the potency of a sovereign's decree. It was carved from the tree beside which Garfield stood during the battle of Middle Creek, Kentucky, and beside which he is said to have knelt and asked the God of Battles to give the victory to the Union arms. . . . I present this gavel to you, Mr. Chairman, as a token of our continued devotion to Republican principles, and as a pledge that Kentucky's electoral vote will be cast next November for McKinley and Roosevelt."

This incident in the convention was heartily received and aroused much enthusiasm. The chair extended the

thanks of the convention to the gentleman from Kentucky.

Henry H. Bingham of Pennsylvania, as chairman, presented the report of the committee on rules and order of business. Senator Quay offered an amendment to one of the rules—that with reference to representation in future national conventions—that it should be based upon the Republican vote polled. There was a lengthy discussion upon this subject, which entered quite extensively into statistics. The matter was finally postponed until the following day. Senator Fairbanks, as chairman of the committee, then presented the resolutions forming the Republican national platform for 1900. The resolutions were unanimously adopted.

#### THE PLATFORM.

The Republicans of the United States, through their chosen representatives, met in National Convention, looking back upon an unsurpassed record of achievement and looking forward into a great field of duty and opportunity, and appealing to the judgment of their countrymen, make these declarations:

The expectation in which the American people, turning from the Democratic party, entrusted power four years ago to a Republican Chief Magistrate and a Republican congress, has been met and satisfied. When the people then assembled at the polls, after a term of Democratic legislation and administration, business was dead, industry paralyzed and the national credit disastrously impaired. The country's capital was hidden away and its labor distressed and unemployed. The Democrats had no other plan with which to improve the ruinous conditions which they had themselves produced than to coin silver at the ratio of sixteen to one. The Republican party, denouncing this plan as sure to produce conditions even worse than those from which relief was sought,

promised to restore prosperity by means of two legislative measures—a protective tariff and a law making gold the standard of value. The people by great majorities issued to the Republican party a commission to enact these laws. The commission has been executed, and the Republican promise is redeemed. Prosperity more general and more abundant than we have ever known has followed these enactments. There is no longer controversy as to the value of any government obligations. Every American dollar is a gold dollar or its assured equivalent, and the American credit stands higher than that of any other nation. Capital is fully employed and labor everywhere is profitably occupied. No single fact can more strikingly tell the story of what Republican government means to the country than this: That while during the whole period of one hundred and seven years, from 1790 to 1897, there was an excess of exports over imports of only \$383,028,497, there has been in the short three years of the present Republican administration an excess of exports over imports in the enormous sum of \$1,483,537,094.

And while the American people, sustained by this Republican legislation, have been achieving these splendid triumphs in their business and commerce, they have conducted and in victory concluded a war for liberty and human rights. No thought of national aggrandizement tarnished the high purpose with which American standards were unfurled. It was a war unsought and patiently resisted, but when it came the American government was ready. Its fleets were cleared for action. Its armies were in the field, and the quick and signal triumph of its forces on land and sea bore equal tribute to the courage of American soldiers and sailors, and to the skill and foresight of Republican statesmanship. To ten millions of the human race there was given “a new birth of freedom,” and to the American people a new and noble responsibility.

We endorse the administration of William McKinley. Its acts have been established in wisdom and in patriotism, and at home and abroad it has distinctly elevated and extended

the influence of the American nation. Walking untried paths and facing unforeseen responsibilities, President McKinley has been in every situation the true American patriot and the upright statesman, clear in vision, strong in judgment, firm in action, always inspiring and deserving the confidence of his countrymen.

In asking the American people to indorse this Republican record and to renew their commission to the Republican party, we remind them of the fact that the menace to their prosperity has always resided in Democratic principles, and no less in the general incapacity of the Democratic party to conduct public affairs. The prime essential of business prosperity is public confidence in the good sense of the government and in its ability to deal intelligently with each new problem of administration and legislation. That confidence the Democratic party has never earned. It is hopelessly inadequate, and the country's prosperity, when Democratic success at the polls is announced, halts and ceases in mere anticipation of Democratic blunders and failures.

We renew our allegiance to the principle of the gold standard and declare our confidence in the wisdom of the legislation of the fifty-sixth congress by which the parity of all our money and the stability of our currency upon a gold basis has been secured. We recognize that interest rates are a potent factor in production and business activity, and for the purpose of further equalizing and of further lowering the rates of interest, we favor such monetary legislation as will enable the varying needs of the season and of all sections to be promptly met in order that trade may be evenly sustained, labor steadily employed and commerce enlarged. The volume of money in circulation was never so great per capita as it is today. We declare our steadfast opposition to the free and unlimited coinage of silver. No measure to that end could be considered which was without the support of the leading commercial countries of the world. However firmly Republican legislation may seem to have secured the country against the peril of base and discredited currency,

the election of a Democratic President could not fail to impair the country's credit and to bring once more into question the intention of the American people to maintain upon the gold standard the parity of their money circulation. The Democratic party must be convinced that the American people will never tolerate the Chicago platform.

We recognize the necessity and propriety of the honest co-operation of capital to meet new business conditions, and especially to extend our rapidly increasing foreign trade, but we condemn all conspiracies and combinations intended to restrict business, to create monopolies, to limit production, or to control prices; and favor such legislation as will effectively restrain and prevent all such abuses, protect and promote competition and secure the rights of producers, laborers, and all who are engaged in industry and commerce.

We renew our faith in the policy of Protection to American labor. In that policy our industries have been established, diversified and maintained. By protecting the home market competition has been stimulated and production cheapened. Opportunity to the inventive genius of our people has been secured and wages in every department of labor maintained at high rates, higher now than ever before, and always distinguishing our working people in their better conditions of life from those of any competing country. Enjoying the blessings of the American common school, secure in the right of self-government and protected in the occupancy of their own markets, their constantly increasing knowledge and skill have enabled them to finally enter the markets of the world. We favor the associated policy of reciprocity so directed as to open our markets on favorable terms for what we do not ourselves produce in return for free foreign markets.

In the further interest of American workmen we favor a more effective restriction of the immigration of cheap labor from foreign lands, the extension of opportunities of education for working children, the raising of the age limit for

child labor, the protection of free labor as against contract convict labor, and an effective system of labor insurance.

Our present dependence upon foreign shipping for nine-tenths of our foreign carrying is a great loss to the industry of this country. It is also a serious danger to our trade, for its sudden withdrawal in the event of European war would seriously cripple our expanding foreign commerce. The national defense and naval efficiency of this country, moreover, supply a compelling reason for legislation which will enable us to recover our former place among the trade carrying fleets of the world.

The nation owes a debt of profound gratitude to the soldiers and sailors who have fought its battles, and it is the government's duty to provide for the survivors and for the widows and orphans of those who have fallen in the country's wars. The pension laws, founded in this just sentiment, should be liberal and should be liberally administered; and preference should be given, wherever practicable, with respect to employment in the public service to soldiers and sailors and to their widows and orphans.

We commend the policy of the Republican party in the efficiency of the civil service. The administration has acted wisely in its efforts to secure for public service in Cuba, Puerto Rico, Hawaii and the Philippine Islands only those whose fitness has been determined by training and experience. We believe that employment in the public service in these territories should be confined as far as practicable to their inhabitants.

It was the plain purpose of the fifteenth amendment to the Constitution to prevent discrimination on account of race or color in regulating the elective franchise. Devices of state governments, whether by statutory or constitutional enactment, to avoid the purpose of this amendment are revolutionary, and should be condemned.

Public movements looking to a permanent improvement of our roads and highways of the country meet with our cordial approval, and we recommend this subject to the earnest con-

sideration of the people and of the legislatures of the several states.

We favor the extension of the rural free delivery service wherever its extension may be justified.

In further pursuance of the constant policy of the Republican party to provide free homes on the public domain, we recommend adequate national legislation to reclaim the arid lands of the United States, reserving control of the distribution of water for irrigation to the respective states and territories.

We favor home rule for, and the early admission to statehood of the Territories of New Mexico, Arizona and Oklahoma.

The Dingley Act, amended to provide sufficient revenue for the conduct of the war, has so well performed its work that it has been possible to reduce the war debt in the sum of \$40,000,000. So ample are the government's revenues and so great is the public confidence in the integrity of its obligations that its newly-funded two per cent bonds sell at a premium. The country is now justified in expecting, and it will be the policy of the Republican party to bring about, a reduction of the war taxes.

We favor the construction, ownership, control and protection of an Isthmian Canal by the government of the United States. New markets are necessary for the increasing surplus of our farm products. Every effort should be made to open and obtain new markets, especially in the Orient, and the administration is warmly to be commended for its successful effort to commit all trading and colonizing nations to the policy of the open door in China.

In the interest of our expanding commerce we recommend that congress create a Department of Commerce and Industries in the charge of a secretary, with a seat in the cabinet. The United States Consular system should be reorganized under the supervision of this new department upon such a basis of appointment and tenure as will render it still more serviceable to the nation's increasing trade.



The American government must protect the person and property of every citizen wherever they are wrongfully violated or placed in peril.

We congratulate the women of America upon their splendid record of public service in the volunteer aid association and as nurses in camp and hospital during the recent campaigns of our armies in the Eastern and Western Indies, and we appreciate their faithful co-operation in all the works of education and industry.

President McKinley has conducted the foreign affairs of the United States with distinguished credit to the American people. In releasing us from the vexatious conditions of a European alliance for the government of Samoa, his course is especially to be commended. By securing to our undivided control the most important island of the Samoan group and the best harbor in the Southern Pacific, every American interest has been safeguarded.

We approve the annexation of the Hawaiian Islands to the United States.

We commend the part taken by our government in the Peace Conference at the Hague. We assert our steadfast adherence to the policy announced in the Monroe Doctrine. The provisions of the Hague Convention were wisely regarded when President McKinley tendered his friendly offices in the interest of peace between Great Britain and the South African Republic. While the American government must continue the policy prescribed by Washington, affirmed by every succeeding President and imposed upon us by the Hague treaty of non-intervention in European controversies, the American people earnestly hope that a way may soon be found, honorable alike to both contending parties, to terminate the strife between them.

In accepting by the Treaty of Paris the just responsibility of our victories in the Spanish War, the President and the senate won the undoubted approval of the American people. No other course was possible than to destroy Spain's sovereignty throughout the Western Indies and in the Philippine

Islands. That course created our responsibility before the world, and with the unorganized population whom our intervention had freed from Spain, to provide for the maintenance of law and order, and for the establishment of good government and for the performance of international obligations. Our authority could not be less than our responsibility; and wherever sovereign rights were extended it became the high duty of the government to maintain its authority, to put down armed insurrection and to confer the blessings of liberty and civilization upon all the rescued peoples.

The large measure of self-government consistent with their welfare and our duties shall be secured to them by law.

To Cuba independence and self-government were assured in the same voice by which war was declared, and to the letter this pledge shall be performed.

The Republican party, upon its history, and upon this declaration of principles and policies confidently invokes the considerate and approving judgment of the American people.

After the adoption of the platform the name of the members of the new national committee were then announced. Connecticut named Charles F. Brooker, who succeeded Mr. Fessenden.

The roll of states was then called for honorary vice-presidents of the convention. For Connecticut, General Joseph R. Hawley was named. At 3:15 P. M. the convention adjourned until Thursday at 10 A. M.

The convention was called to order at 10:30 A. M. on Thursday (the third day). Prayer was offered by Rt. Rev. Archbishop Ryan. Senator Quay then withdrew the amendment offered by him the day before, to the report of the committee on rules.

The permanent chairman then said: "The next business in order is the nomination of a candidate for President of the United States. The clerk will call the roll

of states and territories for the presentation of names of candidates."

When Alabama was called, the response came, "Alabama yields to Ohio." Whereupon Senator Foraker took the platform and nominated William McKinley "to be our next candidate for the Presidency." Senator Foraker was followed by Governor Roosevelt, who seconded the nomination. Others who seconded the nomination were John M. Thurston of Nebraska, John W. Yerkes of Kentucky, George A. Knight of California and James A. Mount of Indiana. All these were able speakers; some of them orators, and the enthusiasm of the convention was aroused to the highest pitch. The roll was called and the vote of each state and territory announced. When completed, the permanent chairman said:

The chair will announce the result of the vote: Total number of votes cast, 926; William McKinley has received 926 votes. It is a unanimous vote and the chair declares that William McKinley is your nominee for the Presidency for the term beginning March 4, 1901.

"The announcement of the result was received with applause and cheering which lasted several minutes."

The permanent chairman then said: "The next business in order is the nomination of a candidate for vice-president. The clerk will call the roll of states and territories for the presentation of candidates."

When Alabama was called the response came, "Alabama yields to Iowa," and the chair recognized Colonel Lafayette Young of Iowa, who nominated for the Vice-Presidency Theodore Roosevelt. The nomination was seconded by M. J. Murray of Massachusetts, J. M. Ashton of Washington and Chauncey M. Depew of New

York. The roll of states was called and the vote of each announced by its chairman. When New York was called Benjamin B. Odell said: "New York casts 71 votes for Theodore Roosevelt, one not voting." The permanent chairman then said: "The total vote of the convention is 926. Nine hundred and twenty-five (925) votes have been cast (one delegate not voting) for Theodore Roosevelt of New York. I hereby declare him your nominee for the Vice-Presidency for the term beginning March 4, 1901."

"The announcement of the result was received with applause and cheering which lasted several minutes." A resolution was passed that "Hon. Henry Cabot Lodge of Massachusetts be appointed chairman of the committee to notify Hon. William McKinley of his nomination for President, and that Hon. E. O. Wolcott of Colorado be appointed chairman of the committee to notify Governor Roosevelt, the nominee for Vice-President, of his nomination."

Thanks were then extended to the officers of the convention for their services, and to the citizens of Philadelphia for their hospitality in providing for and entertaining the convention. The member of the committee from Connecticut to notify President McKinley was Linus B. Plimpton and the one to notify Theodore Roosevelt was Andrew J. Sloper. The convention then adjourned sine die.

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The notification committee met at President McKinley's home at Canton, O., July 12, when Senator Lodge notified President McKinley of his nomination and the President accepted in an address. The committee to

notify Governor Roosevelt met him at his country home, Sagamore, near Oyster Bay, July 12. Senator Wolcott made an address, to which Mr. Roosevelt replied in acceptance of the nomination.

President McKinley's formal letter of acceptance was dated September 8 and Governor Roosevelt's September 15.

In the paper on the 1892 convention (over which he presided) was given a brief sketch of William McKinley's life and career down to that time. Both he and Theodore Roosevelt have been so prominent and so well known to the present generation, and their lives so familiar to the people of this country, as well as to the world at large, that it hardly seems necessary to refer to them even briefly; so I will now give only a short sketch of Mr. Roosevelt.

#### THEODORE ROOSEVELT.

He was born in New York city October 27, 1858, son of Theodore Roosevelt and Martha Oswald Bulloch, the latter of Roswell, Ga. He was primarily educated at home under private teachers, and then entered Harvard. He was one of the editors of the undergraduate journal, *THE ADVOCATE*, and was prominent in athletics. After graduation, in 1880, he spent a year in travel and study, and has since been a persistent student even under the pressure of official life, and at intervals an interested traveler in both Europe and America. For many years he has been deeply interested in the purification of political and official life and the application of civil service rules to executive administration. He served as assemblyman in the New York legislature during the years 1882-'83-'84. He was chairman of the New York delegation to the Republican National Convention in 1884. Mr. Roosevelt was nominated as the independent candidate for mayor of New York city in 1886, and although endorsed by the

Republican party, was defeated at the election. In May, 1889, President Harrison appointed him civil service commissioner, and he served as the president of the board until May, 1895.

He resigned this position to accept that of police commissioner of the city of New York. Shortly before the outbreak of the Spanish-American War he was tendered the office of assistant secretary of the navy by President McKinley. He accepted promptly, and entered on his new duties with his usual energy and enthusiasm. He worked night and day, and to him as much as to any other man, probably, was due the splendid condition of the United States navy when the war with Spain began. When the war broke out in 1898, Roosevelt resigned his position as assistant secretary of the navy to enter the army. He raised a cavalry regiment called the "Rough Riders," chiefly made up of western cowboys and hunters, chosen for their courage and endurance. He was made the lieutenant-colonel. They were also joined by men from every part of the country, who represented many nationalities and every social grade. The Rough Riders took part in all the engagements preceding the fall of Santiago and at the battle of San Juan on July 1. Colonel Roosevelt distinguished himself by leading the desperate charge of the Ninth Regiment and the Rough Riders up San Juan Hill. At the close of the Spanish War Roosevelt was commissioned colonel on July 11. Colonel Roosevelt was nominated for governor of New York on September 27, 1898, and elected over Judge Augustus Van Wyck by a plurality of 18,079.

The campaign following the nomination of McKinley and Roosevelt was an exciting one. The Democrats had in their convention at Kansas City, Mo., again nominated William J. Bryan for President, and with him for Vice-President, Adlai E. Stevenson of Illinois, who had been elected Vice-President on the ticket with Mr. Cleveland in 1892. The free silver plank was retained in the Democratic platform, to which were added those against mili-

tarism and expansion. Marcus A. Hanna was again chosen chairman of the Republican national convention and managed the campaign as ably and indomitably as he did that of four years before. He was assisted by a strong executive committee and an able advisory committee, Charles F. Brooker of Connecticut being a member of the latter. There seemed no great doubt of the result of the campaign from the beginning, and in November McKinley and Roosevelt were elected, receiving 292 electoral votes and carrying twenty-eight states, and receiving of the popular vote 7,206,677 to 6,374,397 for Bryan and Stevenson.

William McKinley was inaugurated President March 4, 1901, as his own successor.

President McKinley appointed as among the members of his cabinet the following:

John Sherman, secretary of state.

Lyman J. Gage, secretary of the treasury.

Russell A. Alger, secretary of war.

Cornelius N. Bliss, secretary of the interior.

John D. Long, secretary of the navy.

William R. Day succeeded John Sherman as secretary of state in 1897, and John Hay in 1898 succeeded Mr. Day, who was appointed on the United States supreme court bench.

Elihu Root succeeded Russell A. Alger as secretary of war in 1899, and the same year Ethan A. Hitchcock succeeded Cornelius N. Bliss as secretary of the interior.

**THE THIRTEENTH  
REPUBLICAN NATIONAL  
CONVENTION**





REPUBLICAN  
CANDIDATES

1904



THEODORE ROOSEVELT

CHARLES W. FAIRBANKS

THE  
THIRTEENTH REPUBLICAN NATIONAL CONVENTION  
HELD AT CHICAGO, ILL., JUNE 21-23, 1904

*For President*—THEODORE ROOSEVELT, of New York

*For Vice-President*—CHARLES W. FAIRBANKS, of Indiana

The thirteenth Republican National Convention assembled in Chicago in June, 1904. William McKinley, President of the United States, elected for a second term in November, 1900, and inaugurated March 4, 1901, was shot while attending the Pan-American Exposition in Buffalo on the 6th of September following, and, after lingering until the 14th, died, and Theodore Roosevelt became President.

“When the bullet of the assassin made vacant the great office so ably and honorably filled by President McKinley, Theodore Roosevelt took the oath of office as President of the United States, informing the country that it was his purpose to take up the work as McKinley had laid it down. He was unfailingly true to that promise. No previous Vice-President ever came into power through the death of the President. without almost immediately calling about him a new cabinet

and adopting methods and policies of his own. Mr. Roosevelt, with an individuality as strong as that of any other man of his day, was able to adjust himself at once to the personnel and to the policies of the McKinley administration, while sacrificing not one whit of his own personality, and while fixing in every direction the impress of his own distinctive methods. Mr. McKinley's cabinet remained with him to a man, one or two of them who had expected to retire—Mr. Gage, Mr. Long and Mr. Smith, for example—keeping their places longer than they otherwise would have done. Mr. Root, Mr. Hay and Mr. Knox had the same freedom of opportunity to carry on their great departments as under Mr. McKinley himself. Mr. Hitchcock and Mr. Wilson held steadily on their respective courses. There was unity in the cabinet, there was good will between the administration and both houses of congress, and there was harmony and enthusiasm in the party at large. Senator Hanna, as chairman of the national committee and an influential figure in congress, remained in close and confidential relations with the new President to the day of his lamentable death (February 15, 1904). Under these circumstances, with the unshaken confidence of the masses of the people and with the enthusiastic support of the unofficial rank and file of the Republican voters, President Roosevelt's nomination at Chicago in 1904 was a foregone conclusion, even though it had never happened before that a President who had come into office to fill an unexpired term had been his party's choice for re-election. Under President Roosevelt's administration a series of great achievements can be named, and these constituted a large part of the claim that the party made for another lease of power."

The President's course with regard to Cuba, the Philippines, the Isthmian Canal and all the foreign relations of the United States; in all matters of internal administration, including the organization of a new cabinet department—that of commerce and labor; his enforcement through the attorney general of the Sherman anti-trust

law; his settlement of the coal strike—all these matters demonstrated that he was a man of wonderful capacity and extraordinary executive ability.

It being already settled that President Roosevelt would be unanimously nominated, the question to be decided was the Vice-Presidency. Who, of the candidates mentioned, would be likely to add the most strength to the ticket? Many were heartily in favor of Speaker Cannon and seemed determined to nominate him, but he refused to allow his name to be used. Robert R. Hitt, for many terms a prominent member of congress from Illinois and at one time assistant secretary of state, was prominently mentioned and had many warm supporters. Senator Fairbanks of Indiana was the choice of a large part of the convention, but it seemed impossible to learn from him whether or not he would accept the nomination. Finally, after the convention had been in doubt for several days, Senator Fairbanks gave his consent and no other candidates were then considered.

Chicago made an early effort to secure the National Convention. At the meeting of the national committee, held December 12, 1903, in Washington, to fix upon the time and place for holding the convention, a committee was present, composed of prominent business men and influential Republicans. They stated that Chicago would guarantee the expense of the convention, supplying a convention hall with a seating capacity of 12,000, with eleven entrances. The hotel accommodations were guaranteed to be the best. There were also delegations present from St. Louis and Pittsburg. Only one ballot was necessary. Chicago received 43 votes, Pittsburg 7, and St. Louis 1.

The convention hall, a massive structure of steel, brick

and stone, was standing ready. No building had to be transformed or evolved. The Chicago Coliseum was ready for the great National Convention.

Prominent Republicans were present from every state, both as delegates and spectators. Among the delegates and alternates were the following:

California—George C. Pardee, John D. Spreckles, J. W. McKinley and George A. Knight.

Colorado—E. O. Wolcott and James H. Peabody.

Connecticut—Charles F. Brooker, John T. Robinson, Francis T. Maxwell, Frank B. Brandegee, Edwin Milner, Michael Kenealy, Charles S. Mellen, Donald T. Warner, Edwin W. Higgins, Charles M. Jarvis, Frederick De Peyster and William H. Hall.

Illinois—Shelby M. Cullom, Albert J. Hopkins, Joseph G. Cannon, Richard Yates, Frank O. Lowden and Graeme Stewart.

Indiana—Charles W. Fairbanks, Albert J. Beveridge, W. T. Durbin and James P. Goodrich.

Iowa—William B. Allison, J. P. Dolliver, A. B. Cummins and J. W. Blythe.

Kentucky—William O. Bradley, Richard P. Ernst and George W. Long.

Maine—John F. Hill and F. M. Simpson.

Maryland—L. E. McComas, Felix Angus and Phillips L. Goldsborough.

Massachusetts—Henry Cabot Lodge, W. Murray Crane, John D. Long and Everett C. Benton.

Michigan—Dexter M. Ferry and Ralph Loveland.

Minnesota—Knute Nelson, Moses E. Clapp and S. R. Van Sant.

Montana—Thomas H. Carter and Lee Mantle.

New Hampshire—Jacob H. Gallinger and Henry E. Burnham.

New Jersey—Franklin Murphy, John Kean, John F. Dryden and David Baird.

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New York—Thomas C. Platt, Chauncey M. Depew, B. B. Odell, Jr., Frank S. Black, T. L. Woodruff, Edward Lauterbach, Cornelius N. Bliss, Elihu Root, F. Norton Goddard, Edward H. Harriman, Sereno E. Payne, J. Sloat Fassett, James W. Wadsworth, William C. Warren and S. Fred Nixon.

Ohio—Myron T. Herrick, Charles Dick, Joseph B. Foraker and Julius Fleischman.

North Dakota—H. C. Hansbrough and P. J. McCumber.

Pennsylvania—S. W. Pennypacker, Henry H. Bingham, William Flinn, John Dalzell, George T. Oliver and Frank Reeder.

Tennessee—W. P. Brownlow and H. C. Evans.

Vermont—W. P. Dillingham and W. Seward Webb.

Wisconsin—John C. Spooner, J. V. Quarles, J. W. Babcock and C. T. Pfister.

Wyoming—F. E. Warren and C. D. Clark.

The following were the Connecticut delegates and alternates:

AT LARGE.

Charles F. Brooker, Ansonia; alternate, Charles M. Jarvis, Berlin.

John T. Robinson, Hartford; alternate, John W. Atwood, Plainfield.

Francis T. Maxwell, Rockville; alternate, Charles A. Thompson, Melrose.

Frederick De Peyster, Portland; alternate, William H. Lyon, Meridan.

F. B. Brandegee, New London; alternate, Fayette L. Wright, Pomfret.

Michael Kenealy, Stamford; alternate, James A. Doughty, Torrington.

DISTRICT.

First—Charles C. Bissell, Suffield; alternate, Edgar F. Burnham, Hartford. W. H. Hall, Willington; alternate, Frederick O. Vinton, Mansfield.

Second—Charles S. Mellen, New Haven; alternate, William J. Leavenworth, Wallingford. George L. Cheney, Essex; alternate, B. E. Harwood, Chester.

Third—Edwin Milner, Moosup; alternate, Angus Park, Hanover. Edwin W. Higgins, Norwich; alternate, George A. Hammond, Putnam.

Fourth—George L. Rockwell, Ridgefield; alternate, Matt. H. Rogers, Bridgeport. Donald T. Warner, Salisbury; alternate, Charles M. Beach, New Milford.

The convention assembled on Tuesday, June 21, at 12:15 P. M. and was called to order by Henry C. Payne, vice-chairman of the national committee, Chairman Hanna having died on February 15 previous. Rev. Timothy P. Frost, D.D., offered prayer. The call for the convention was read by the secretary.

Vice-Chairman Payne then announced that the national committee had selected for temporary chairman Hon. Elihu Root of New York, and presented his name for acceptance. Mr. Odell of New York moved that the action of the national committee be approved, which was unanimously agreed to. Mr. Root was then presented to the convention and delivered an able address, which was enthusiastically received.

Elihu Root was born at Clinton, N. Y., February 15, 1845. He was graduated from Hamilton College in 1864 and from the New York University Law School in 1867. In the latter year he was admitted to the bar and entered upon the practice of his profession in New York. In 1883 he was appointed United States district attorney for the southern district of New York; in 1894 was a delegate-at-large to the New York state constitutional convention, and was chairman of the judiciary committee. He was appointed secretary of war by President McKinley in 1899 and reappointed in 1901. Though his marked ability as a lawyer was recognized by his

colleagues, he was little known outside of New York state at the time of his appointment to the war department, and the choice excited considerable surprise. He found the work of his department in disorder with constant rivalry among its various bureaus, but by strict discipline, adhering to civil service rules, and establishing a system of promotion for merit, he soon brought order into the administrative departments, and turned his attention to the organization of the army. In this field he brought about a number of improvements, chief among which are the assimilation of the militia with the regular army and the creation of the general staff. He also had charge of the military administration of Cuba and the Philippines, in both of which cases he rendered excellent service. In 1903 he resigned from the secretaryship to resume the practice of law in New York, his resignation taking effect in January, 1904, and was succeeded by William H. Taft, who resigned as governor of the Philippines in order to accept the position.

The national committee then submitted to the convention a list of temporary officers of the convention which was approved. The roll of states and territories was then called and the names were announced of those selected to serve on the several committees. Connecticut named the following:

On Permanent Organization—Michael Kenealy.

On Rules and Order of Business—John T. Robinson.

On Credentials—George L. Cheney.

On Resolutions—Edwin W. Higgins.

An invitation was received from David R. Francis, president of the Louisiana Purchase Exposition, inviting the delegates and alternates to attend the World's Fair, then in progress in St. Louis. Mr. Depew offered a resolution extending a vote of thanks for the invitation and

that a committee of five be appointed upon the matter. The resolution was agreed to.

The convention then adjourned until the following day at 12 o'clock M.

The convention reassembled at noon on Wednesday (the second day) and was called to order at 12:25 P. M. Prayer was offered by Rev. Thomas E. Cox.

The committee on credentials, through the chairman, L. E. McComas of Maryland, made its report. There were contests in Alabama, Delaware, Georgia, Illinois, Louisiana, Mississippi, Missouri, New York, Ohio, South Carolina, Texas, Virginia, Wisconsin, Alaska and the Philippine Islands. They were all decided by the committee and the report was adopted.

General Peter Joseph Osterhaus, a corps commander of Sherman, "one of the most distinguished, gallant and heroic German soldiers of the Union army during the Civil War," was then presented to the convention by the temporary chairman and said:

Gentlemen of the convention, allow me to thank you most heartily for the honor conferred upon me in giving me permission to appear before you. Having voted for Abraham Lincoln in 1860 and again in 1864, at the moment when Sherman's army was preparing for the march to the sea, I can have no other wish than the greatest success of your assembly, and the continuance as the result of your nomination, of that eminent, able and righteous course which the present President of the United States has pursued.

The address was received with great applause.

The committee on permanent organization, through William M. Johnson of New Jersey, chairman, then re-



ported, naming Hon. Joseph G. Cannon of Illinois for permanent chairman of the convention and an honorary vice-president from each state.

Donald T. Warner was named for Connecticut.

The report was adopted and the chair appointed ex-Governor John D. Long of Massachusetts, Senator Shelby M. Cullom of Illinois, and Congressman Theodore E. Burton of Ohio a committee to escort the permanent chairman to the platform. Speaker Cannon was heartily cheered on his appearance and throughout his address.

Joseph G. Cannon was born in Guilford, N. C., May 7, 1836. When he was four years old his father, Dr. Horace C. Cannon, moved to Bloomington, Ind., and there the son obtained his education. He was fourteen years old when his father died. He went to work immediately in a country store, and remained there until he was twenty-one, when he began the study of law. He was admitted to practice at Terre Haute, Ind., in 1858, and in 1859 he removed to Tuscola, Douglas County, Ill., where in March, 1861, he was elected state's attorney for the district. In 1873 he was elected a member of the forty-third congress against a strong Democratic candidate, and he has been elected to every congress since, with the exception of the fifty-fourth. He was, before his election to the speakership of the house, a member of the committee on appropriations for twenty-two years and for ten years its chairman. In November, 1903, he was elected to succeed David B. Henderson as speaker of the house of representatives.

The committee on rules and order of business, Henry H. Bingham of Pennsylvania, chairman, then made its report. Mr. Foraker offered an amendment which would give Hawaii six delegates instead of four. There was a lengthy discussion over the matter, which finally ended by

adopting a substitute to Mr. Foraker's amendment making the representation of Hawaii two delegates, "provided that this shall not impair the rights and privileges of the six delegates already seated in this convention."

A call of the roll of states was demanded and resulted in favor of the substitute: ayes 495, noes 490. Connecticut voted 14 no.

Henry Cabot Lodge, chairman, presented the report of the committee on resolutions. The reading of the report was received with great applause, and it was unanimously agreed to.

#### THE PLATFORM. ✓

Fifty years ago the Republican party came into existence, dedicated, among other purposes, to the great task of arresting the extension of human slavery. In 1860 it elected its first President. During twenty-four of the forty-four years which have elapsed since the election of Lincoln the Republican party has held complete control of the government. For eighteen more of the forty-four years it has held partial control through the possession of one or two branches of the government, while the Democratic party during the same period has had complete control for only two years. This long tenure of power by the Republican party is not due to chance. It is a demonstration that the Republican party has commanded the confidence of the American people for nearly two generations to a degree never equalled in our history, and has displayed a high capacity for rule and government which has been made even more conspicuous by the incapacity and infirmity of purpose shown by its opponents.

The Republican party entered upon its present period of complete supremacy in 1897. We have every right to congratulate ourselves upon the work since then accomplished, for it has added luster even to the traditions of the party which carried the government through the storms of civil war.

We then found the country after four years of Democratic rule in evil plight, oppressed with misfortune and doubtful of the future. Public credit had been lowered, the revenues were declining, the debt was growing, the administration's attitude towards Spain was feeble and mortifying, and standard of values was threatened and uncertain, labor was unemployed, business was sunk in the depression which had succeeded the panic of 1893, hope was faint and confidence was gone.

We met these unhappy conditions vigorously, effectively, and at once. We replaced a Democratic tariff law based on free trade principles and garnished with sectional protection by a consistent protective tariff; and industry, freed from oppression and stimulated by the encouragement of wise laws, has expanded to a degree never before known, has conquered new markets, and has created a volume of exports which has surpassed imagination. Under the Dingley tariff, labor has been fully employed, wages have risen, and all industries have revived and prospered.

We firmly established the gold standard which was then menaced with destruction. Confidence returned to business, and with confidence an unexpected prosperity.

For deficient revenues, supplemented by improvident issues of bonds, we gave the country an income which produced a large surplus and which enabled us only four years after the Spanish War had closed to remove over one hundred millions of annual war taxes, reduce the public debt, and lower the interest charges of the government.

The public credit which had been so lowered that in time of peace a Democratic administration made large loans at extravagant rates of interest in order to pay current expenditures, rose under Republican administration to its highest point and enabled us to borrow at 2 per cent even in time of war.

We refused to palter longer with the miseries of Cuba. We fought a quick and victorious war with Spain. We set Cuba free, governed the island for three years, and then gave it to the Cuban people with order restored, with ample revenues,

with education and public health established, free from debt, and connected with the United States by wise provisions for our mutual interests.

We have organized the government of Porto Rico, and its people now enjoy peace, freedom, order, and prosperity.

In the Philippines we have suppressed insurrection, established order, and given to life and property a security never known there before. We have organized civil government, made it effective and strong in administration, and have conferred upon the people of those islands the largest civil liberty they have ever enjoyed.

By our possession of the Philippines we were enabled to take prompt and effective action in the relief of the legations at Peking and a decisive part in preventing the partition and preserving the integrity of China.

The possession of a route for an isthmian canal, so long the dream of American statesmanship, is now an accomplished fact. The great work of connecting the Pacific and Atlantic by a canal is at last begun, and it is due to the Republican party.

We have passed laws which will bring the arid lands of the United States within the area of cultivation.

We have reorganized the army and put it in the highest state of efficiency.

We have passed laws for the improvement and support of the militia.

We have pushed forward the building of the navy, the defense and protection of our honor and our interests.

Our administration of the great departments of the government has been honest and efficient, and wherever wrongdoing has been discovered, the Republican administration has not hesitated to probe the evil and bring offenders to justice, without regard to party or political ties.

Laws enacted by the Republican party which the Democratic failed to enforce and which were intended for the protection of the public against the unjust discrimination or the illegal encroachment of vast aggregations of capital, have

been fearlessly enforced by a Republican President, and new laws insuring reasonable publicity as to the operations of great corporations, and providing additional remedies for the prevention of discrimination in freight rates, have been passed by a Republican congress.

In this record of achievement during the past eight years may be read the pledges which the Republican party has fulfilled. We promise to continue these policies, and we declare our constant adherence to the following principles:

Protection, which guards and develops our industries, is a cardinal policy of the Republican party. The measure of protection should always at least equal the difference in the cost of production at home and abroad. We insist upon the maintenance of the principle of protection, and, therefore, rates of duty should be readjusted only when conditions have so changed that the public interest demands their alteration, but this work cannot safely be committed to any other hands than those of the Republican party. To intrust it to the Democratic party is to invite disaster. Whether, as in 1892, the Democratic party declares the protective tariff unconstitutional, or whether it demands tariff reform or tariff revision, its real object is always the destruction of the protective system. However specious the name, the purpose is ever the same. A Democratic tariff has always been followed by business adversity; a Republican tariff by business prosperity. To a Republican congress and a Republican President this great question can be safely intrusted. When the only free trade country among the great nations agitates a return to protection the chief protective country should not falter in maintaining it.

We have extended widely our foreign markets, and we believe in the adoption of all practicable methods for their future extension, including commercial reciprocity wherever reciprocal arrangements can be effected consistent with the principles of protection and without injury to American agriculture, American labor, or any American industry.

We believe it to be the duty of the Republican party to

uphold the gold standard, and the integrity and value of our national currency. The maintenance of the gold standard, established by the Republican party, cannot safely be committed to the Democratic party, which resisted its adoption and has never given any proof since that time of belief in it or fidelity to it.

While every other industry has prospered under the fostering aid of Republican legislation, American shipping engaged in foreign trade in competition with the low cost of construction, low wages and heavy subsidies of foreign governments, has not for many years received from the government of the United States adequate encouragement of any kind. We therefore favor legislation which will encourage and build up the American merchant marine, and we cordially approve the legislation of the last congress which created the Merchant Marine Commission to investigate and report upon this subject.

A navy powerful enough to defend the United States against any attack, to uphold the Monroe Doctrine, and watch over our commerce, is essential to the safety and the welfare of the American people. To maintain such a navy is the fixed policy of the Republican party.

We cordially approve the attitude of President Roosevelt and congress in regard to the exclusion of Chinese labor, and promise a continuance of the Republican policy in that direction.

The civil service law was placed on the statute books by the Republican party, which has always sustained it, and we renew our former declarations that it shall be thoroughly and honestly enforced.

We are always mindful of the country's debt to the soldiers and sailors of the United States, and we believe in making ample provision for them and in the liberal administration of the pension laws.

We favor the peaceful settlement of international differences by arbitration.

We commend the vigorous efforts made by the administra-

tion to protect American citizens in foreign lands, and pledge ourselves to insist upon the just and equal protection of all our citizens abroad. It is the unquestioned duty of the government to procure for all our citizens, without distinction, the rights of travel and sojourn in friendly countries, and we declare ourselves in favor of all proper efforts tending to that end.

Our great interests and our growing commerce in the Orient render the condition of China of high importance to the United States. We cordially commend the policy pursued in that direction by the administrations of President McKinley and President Roosevelt.

We favor such congressional action as shall determine whether by special discriminations the elective franchise in any state has been unconstitutionally limited, and, if such is the case, we demand that representation in congress and in the electoral colleges shall be proportionally reduced as directed by the Constitution of the United States.

Combinations of capital and of labor are the results of the economic movement of the age, but neither must be permitted to infringe upon the rights and interests of the people. Such combinations, when lawfully formed for lawful purposes, are alike entitled to the protection of the laws, but both are subject to the laws and neither can be permitted to break them.

The great statesman and patriotic American, William McKinley, who was re-elected by the Republican party to the Presidency four years ago, was assassinated, just at the threshold of his second term. The entire nation mourned his untimely death and did that justice to his great qualities of mind and character which history will confirm and repeat.

The American people were fortunate in his successor, to whom they turned with a trust and confidence which have been fully justified. President Roosevelt brought to the great responsibilities thus sadly forced upon him a clear head, a brave heart, an earnest patriotism, and high ideals of public duty and public service. True to the principles of the Republican party and to the policies which that party had declared,

he has also shown himself ready for every emergency and has met new and vital questions with ability and success.

The confidence of the people in his justice, inspired by his public career, enabled him to render personally an estimable service to the country by bringing about a settlement of the coal strike, which threatened such disastrous results at the opening of winter in 1902.

Our foreign policy under his administration has not only been able, vigorous, and dignified, but in the highest degree successful.

The complicated questions which arose in Venezuela were settled in such a way by President Roosevelt that the Monroe Doctrine was signally vindicated and the cause of peace and arbitration greatly advanced.

His prompt and vigorous action in Panama, which we commend in the highest terms, not only secured to us the canal route, but avoided foreign complications which might have been of a very serious character.

He has continued the policy of President McKinley in the Orient, and our position in China, signalized by our recent commercial treaty with that empire, has never been so high.

He secured the tribunal by which the vexed and perilous question of the Alaskan boundary was finally settled.

Whenever crimes against humanity have been perpetrated which have shocked our people, his protest has been made, and our good offices have been tendered, but always with due regard to international obligations.

Under his guidance we find ourselves at peace with all the world, and never were we more respected or our wishes more regarded by foreign nations.

Pre-eminently successful in regard to our foreign relations, he has been equally fortunate in dealing with domestic questions. The country has known that the public credit and the national currency were absolutely safe in the hands of his administration. In the enforcement of the laws he has shown not only courage, but the wisdom which understands that to permit laws to be violated or disregarded opens the door to



anarchy, while the just enforcement of the law is the soundest conservatism. He has held firmly to the fundamental American doctrine that all men must obey the law; that there must be no distinction between rich and poor, between strong and weak, but that justice and equal protection under the law must be secured to every citizen without regard to race, creed, or condition.

His administration has been throughout vigorous and honorable, highminded and patriotic. We commend it without reservation to the considerate judgment of the American people.

Immediately after the adoption of the platform the roll of states was called for the presentation of names of persons chosen members of the Republican national committee. Charles F. Brooker was again named for Connecticut. The convention then adjourned until the following day at 10 o'clock A. M.

The convention reassembled on Thursday (the third day) at 10:30 o'clock A. M. Prayer was offered by Rev. Thaddeus A. Snively. The announcement was made to the convention that "on the 6th day of July at Jackson, Mich., will be celebrated the fiftieth anniversary of the birth of the Republican party, the time and place where it received its name. Secretary Hay will deliver the principal address and Senator Fairbanks and others will be present and speak. A cordial invitation is extended to all."

The permanent chairman then said: "The next business in order is the calling of the roll of states for the presentation of names of candidates for President of the United States."

When Alabama was called the chairman of that dele-

gation said: "The state of Alabama requests the privilege and distinguished honor of yielding its place upon the call to the State of New York."

Frank S. Black, former governor of New York, was escorted to the platform and in an eloquent address presented the name of President Roosevelt as a candidate. The address was heartily cheered. The following incident then occurred in the convention:

The permanent chairman said: "The clerk will read an announcement." The clerk read as follows:

This flag, staff and all, just as you see it, save the wear and tear, was carried in the Republican National Convention in Chicago in 1860, and was waved at the moment of the nomination of the Republican candidate for President. It is the property of the Lincoln-McKinley Association of Veteran Voters of the United States. Captain F. L. Withaupt of Willow Springs, Mo., the bearer hereof, who is a nephew of the late Judge Arnold Krekel, who was a delegate to the Republican National Convention in 1860, is hereby commissioned to carry the priceless gem and souvenir to be held forty-four years after in the same city on June 21, 1904, and wave it at the moment of time the nominee shall be named by the convention.

The permanent chairman (holding the flag in his hand) said: "It prophesied victory in 1860; its like has been baptized on a hundred battlefields since; and it is as safe today under the leadership of the Republican party, headed by Theodore Roosevelt, as it ever was." This incident aroused great cheering in the convention.

The permanent chairman then said: "Gentlemen of the Convention: I have the pleasure of introducing to you a man whom you know and whom all know of, one of Indiana's favorite sons, who always when he has a

message, insists on a hearing, and in the hearing the people are gratified, entertained, informed and enthused."

He then introduced Senator Beveridge of Indiana, who responded in a speech seconding the nomination of President Roosevelt, which was received with great demonstrations of applause and cheering. He was followed by George A. Knight of California, H. S. Edwards of Georgia, William O. Bradley of Kentucky, Joseph B. Cotton of Minnesota and Harry S. Cummings of Maryland.

It has been seldom that so many fluent speakers have in a National Convention spoken for a single candidate as spoke for President Roosevelt, and every speech was eagerly listened to and enthusiastically cheered.

The clerk then proceeded to call the roll and the permanent chairman announced the result of the ballot, as follows: "The total number of votes in the convention is 994. Theodore Roosevelt has received 994 votes; and it only remains for me to announce that Theodore Roosevelt of the State of New York is your candidate for the Presidency for the term commencing on the 4th of March, 1905." This announcement was received with loud cheering, long continued.

The permanent chairman then said: "The next business in order is the nomination of a candidate for Vice-President. The clerk will call the roll of states for the presentation of candidates."

When Alabama was called the chairman of that delegation said: "The State of Alabama requests the privilege and the honor of yielding its place on the roll call to Iowa." Senator J. P. Dolliver was escorted to the platform and presented to the convention. In an able

and eloquent address he nominated Senator Charles W. Fairbanks of Indiana. The nomination was seconded by Senator Chauncey M. Depew, who made what at the time was called a "rattling speech." He was followed by Senator Foraker, Governor Pennypacker of Pennsylvania and Senator Carter of Montana, all speaking eloquently in favor of Senator Fairbanks.

Senator Depew asked that unanimous consent be given "to dispense with the roll call, and that the nomination of Senator Fairbanks be made by a unanimous viva voce vote." There was no objection made to Senator Depew's request, and the permanent chairman declared that, "by the unanimous choice of the convention, Charles W. Fairbanks of the State of Indiana is our candidate for Vice-President for the term commencing on the 4th of March, 1905." This announcement was received with great applause—long continued.

By resolution, the permanent chairman of the convention, Hon. Joseph G. Cannon of Illinois, was appointed chairman of the committee to notify Hon. Theodore Roosevelt of his nomination for President, and the temporary chairman, Hon. Elihu Root of New York, was appointed chairman of the committee to notify Hon. Charles W. Fairbanks of his nomination for Vice-President, and the committee requested to notify the candidate for President on July 27 and the candidate for Vice-President on August 3.

Connecticut named as the member of the committee to notify the candidate for President Charles S. Mellen, and the one to notify the candidate for Vice-President, Charles C. Bissell. The usual votes of thanks to the convention

officers and the citizens of Chicago were passed and the convention adjourned sine die.

Charles W. Fairbanks, the candidate for Vice-President, was temporary chairman of the 1896 convention and a brief sketch of his life was given in the paper on that convention.

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The committee to notify President Roosevelt met at his home at Oyster Bay on July 27, and he was notified in an address by Speaker Cannon, to which the President replied, accepting the nomination.

On August 3, Hon. Elihu Root, for the committee, in an address notified Senator Fairbanks of his nomination, to which the latter responded in acceptance.

The President's formal letter of acceptance was dated September 12 and that of Mr. Fairbanks later. The Democratic National Convention, held in St. Louis in July, nominated Alton B. Parker of New York for President and Henry Gassaway Davis of West Virginia for Vice-President.

While Mr. Bryan loyally supported the ticket, there failed to be any enthusiasm aroused in its support by the party. The Republicans, on the contrary, were thoroughly united and had also the support of the business interests of the country, including many Democrats who had voted for McKinley in the two preceding presidential elections.

George B. Cortelyou was selected by President Roosevelt to manage his campaign and was chosen chairman of the national committee. Mr. Cortelyou had been President McKinley's executive secretary, and later had held

the same position under President Roosevelt. He became the first secretary of commerce and labor after that office was established in 1903, which position he resigned in order to become chairman of the national committee. He proved to be a worthy successor to Senator Hanna, and managed the campaign with great skill and energy. He was ably assisted by Charles F. Brooker of Connecticut, who was one of the executive committee that had charge of the campaign at the New York headquarters.

Roosevelt and Fairbanks were in November overwhelmingly elected, receiving of the electoral vote 336 to 140, and of the popular vote 7,623,486 to 5,077,971 for Parker and Davis.

Theodore Roosevelt was inaugurated President of the United States March 4, 1905, as his own successor.



**THE FOURTEENTH  
REPUBLICAN NATIONAL  
CONVENTION**





WILLIAM H. TAFT

REPUBLICAN  
CANDIDATES

1908



JAMES S. SHERMAN

THE  
FOURTEENTH REPUBLICAN NATIONAL CONVENTION  
HELD AT CHICAGO, ILL., JUNE 16-19, 1908

*For President*—WILLIAM H. TAFT, of Ohio

*For Vice-President*—JAMES S. SHERMAN, of New York

The fourteenth Republican National Convention assembled in Chicago in June, 1908.

Theodore Roosevelt had then been President for more than three years of the term for which he was elected in November, 1904.

The great accomplishments of his administration had been "first and foremost, a brave and impartial enforcement of the law; the prosecution of illegal trusts and monopolies, the exposure and punishment of evil doers in public service; the most effective regulation of the rates and service of the great transportation lines; the complete overthrow of preferences, rebates and discriminations; the arbitration of labor disputes; the amelioration of the condition of wage-workers everywhere; the conservation of the natural resources of the country; the forward step in the improvement of the inland water-

ways; and always the earnest support and defense of every wholesome safeguard which has made more secure the guaranties of life, liberty and property."

As he had announced to the country on the night of his election in November, 1904, that he would consider the three and one-half years that he had served of McKinley's term as his own first term, and that he would not be a candidate for re-election, there was much interest shown throughout the country and much discussion in the public press and among the people—especially among Republicans—as to who his successor would be. Many probable and possible candidates were mentioned, among them the then secretary of war, William H. Taft. That he was the choice of President Roosevelt there was no doubt, for Mr. Roosevelt was very free to so express himself whenever occasion seemed to require it.

Secretary Taft had shown such marked ability throughout his whole career in public life; had been so well fitted for every position he had occupied, with such a rare combination of head and heart, that it was generally recognized all over the country that no man was better equipped for the Presidency than he. There were, of course, other candidates with more or less support, but their support was more local in its nature than general. Among them were Mr. Fairbanks (the Vice-President), Mr. Cannon, speaker of the house; Governor Hughes of New York, Senator Knox of Pennsylvania and Senator La Follette of Wisconsin. Governor Hughes was popular in his own state and was gaining a national reputation by the reform measures he had advocated before the legislature of New York, and the independence he had shown in his entire course while governor.

Mr. Cannon, by his long service in congress and as speaker, had many warm friends in all parts of the country.

Senator Knox, by his great ability as a lawyer, his judicial mind and great services as attorney general in the cabinets of both President McKinley and President Roosevelt, was acknowledged to be a man well qualified for the Presidency.

Senator La Follette was popular with many Republicans in Wisconsin, but a large faction in his own state did not support, or even approve of, many of his measures and policies, considering them of too radical a nature.

There were two elements in the Republican party, though not large, which opposed Secretary Taft's nomination, but for diametrically opposite reasons. One on account of the fear they had that Taft would not strenuously carry out the policies of President Roosevelt for whom they had great admiration bordering almost on adoration, and the other because they were opposed to many of the President's policies and wished some one nominated, who, if elected, would make a change in those policies. The latter were called "reactionaries," and had gained some foothold in congress, especially in the senate.

A few months before the convention met, Frank H. Hitchcock, then the first assistant postmaster-general, resigned his position in order to manage Secretary Taft's canvass. Having great executive ability and being an indefatigable worker, with an equable and serene temperament, he made a most remarkable record, as the decisions in the contests before the national committee from some of the Southern states, and the result in the convention later showed.

Chicago had again made a successful effort to secure the convention for that city. The Coliseum had been offered, with 14,000 seats, if required. The arrangements were placed in the hands of competent committees and everything was ready at the appointed time.

Prominent Republicans were present from every state and territory, both as delegates and spectators. Among the delegates and alternates were the following:

Arkansas—Powell Clayton and H. L. Rammel.

California—George A. Knight, M. H. De Young, Henry A. Melvin and Jacob H. Neff.

Colorado—Crawford Hill, Hubert Work and William Lennox.

Connecticut—Charles F. Brooker, Michael Kenealy, Charles Hopkins Clark, Isaac M. Ullman, Orsamus R. Fyler, Ebenezer J. Hill, Charles M. Jarvis and Andrew N. Shepard.

Delaware—Henry A. Du Pont and Preston Lea.

Florida—J. M. Coombs and Joseph E. Lee.

Georgia—John H. Deveaux and Judson W. Lyons.

Idaho—James H. Brady and C. C. Cavanah.

Illinois—Shelby M. Cullom, Albert J. Hopkins, Charles S. Deneen, Fred A. Busse, William Lorimer, Henry S. Boutell, William B. McKinley and Chauncey Dewey.

Indiana—Albert J. Beveridge, James A. Hemenway, J. Frank Hanly, James P. Goodrich, Charles S. Hernley, William N. Durbin, Charles A. Bookwalter and George Ade.

Iowa—George D. Perkins, Lafayette Young, John F. Lacey, Joseph R. Lane, Frank Simmons and Joseph R. Lamb.

Kansas—Chester I. Long, Charles Curtis, Cyrus Leland, Jr., and Grant Hornaday.

Kentucky—Augustus E. Willson, A. R. Burnam, William M. Bullitt, Morris B. Belknap and R. W. Hunter.

Louisiana—Henry C. Warmouth and Pearl Wight.

Maine—Thomas P. Shaw, John F. Hill, Charles J. Dunn and Richard Webb.

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Maryland—Felix Angus, George A. Pearre, P. L. Goldborough and Sydney E. Mudd.

Massachusetts—Henry Cabot Lodge, W. Murray Crane, John D. Long, Sidney O. Bigney, Charles M. Hoyt and William O. Faxon.

Michigan—E. D. Stair, John W. Blodgett, Frank W. Gilchrist and Edgar B. Foss.

Minnesota—Frank B. Kellogg, W. W. Heffelfinger, Edward B. Hawkins and Frank E. Putnam.

Missouri—William Warner, Herbert S. Hadley, John H. Bothwell and James R. Holmes.

Nebraska—George L. Sheldon, Victor Rosewater, Norris Brown, Allen W. Field and Elmer J. Burkett.

New Hampshire—Jacob H. Gallinger, Edwin G. Eastman, Chester B. Jordan and Edwin F. Jones.

New Jersey—J. Franklin Fort, John Kean, Frank O. Briggs, David Baird, H. C. Londenslager, Thomas N. McCarter, F. W. Roebeling and John A. Blair.

New York—Stewart L. Woodford, Seth Low, Edward H. Butler, T. L. Woodruff, Frederick H. Schroeder, Ezra P. Prentice, Charles B. Page, Chauncey M. Depew, Job E. Hedges, Herbert Parsons, William L. Ward, Benjamin Odell, Jr., William S. Bennet and John E. Andrews.

Ohio—Andrew L. Harris, Myron T. Herrick, Charles P. Taft, Arthur L. Vorys, Julius Fleischman, J. Warren Keifer, T. E. Burton, Harry M. Daugherty, W. P. Orr and C. B. McCoy.

Oklahoma—Dennis T. Flynn and Bird S. McGuire.

Oregon—C. W. Fulton, George H. Williams, A. G. Gilbert and C. G. Huntley.

Pennsylvania—Edwin S. Stuart, James Elverson, Boies Penrose, James F. Burke, Charles A. Rook, Robert P. Habgood, Israel W. Dunham, David H. Lane, David Martin and Charles D. Burk.

Rhode Island—Andrew J. Currier, Ezra Dixon, Edward E. Arnold and John Fletcher.

South Carolina—John G. Capers, T. L. Grant and J. W. Tolbat.

South Dakota—Coe J. Crawford and C. H. Dillon.

Tennessee—H. Clay Evans, Newell Sanders, E. W. Essary and A. J. Fletcher.

Texas—Cecil A. Lyon, Charles W. Ogden, Harris Master-son and C. A. Gray.

Utah—George Sutherland and Reed Smoot.

Vermont—William P. Dillingham, Frank L. Greene, Fletcher D. Proctor and Allen M. Fletcher.

Virginia—C. B. Slemp, A. H. Martin, C. G. Smithers and D. L. Groner.

Washington—R. A. Ballinger, R. L. McCormick, Frank T. Post and W. J. Rucker.

West Virginia—George A. Laughlin, Isaac T. Mann, Charles W. Dillon and E. M. Grant.

Wisconsin—Isaac Stephenson, Henry A. Cooper, William C. Brumder, Atley Peterson and Alfred T. Rogers.

Wyoming—Francis E. Warren, Clarence D. Clark, Frank W. Mondale and H. S. Ridgely.

After the delegates had been chosen by the Republicans of the different states there was really no doubt in the minds of any Republicans, whose prejudices did not warp their judgment, that Secretary Taft would have a very large majority in the convention. The situation was similar to that in the spring of 1896, when William McKinley and Thomas B. Reed were the leading candidates.

That Secretary Taft had the support of the Republicans of Connecticut by an overwhelming majority there was no doubt, and when the state convention met in Hartford in May, it was an easy matter to foretell the result. At first it was undecided whether or not it would be advisable to instruct the delegates about to be chosen, to vote for Secretary Taft. There was a sentiment on the part of

some that a resolution of endorsement by the convention would be sufficient.

But, as the delegates to the convention arrived in Hartford and discussed the matter among themselves, there developed a most decided, and in fact, overwhelming feeling, in favor of instructions, especially as it was stated that Secretary Taft would be greatly pleased to have such a course taken by a New England state.

So the convention instructed the delegates at large for Secretary Taft, amid the greatest enthusiasm.

The following were the delegates and alternates chosen :

#### AT LARGE.

Charles F. Brooker, Ansonia ; alternate, Alton Farrel, Ansonia. Michael Kenealy, Stamford ; alternate, Schuyler Merritt, Stamford. Charles Hopkins Clark, Hartford ; alternate, Albert N. Abbe, New Britain. Isaac M. Ullman, New Haven ; alternate, T. Macdonough Russell, Middletown. Timothy E. Hopkins, Danielson ; alternate, Theodore Bodenwein, New London. Orsamus R. Fyler, Torrington ; Ebenezer J. Hill, Norwalk.

#### DISTRICT.

First—Charles M. Jarvis, Berlin ; alternate, Patrick Garvan, Hartford. George E. Keeney, Somers ; alternate, William H. Hall, Willington.

Second—Dennis A. Blakeslee, New Haven ; alternate, F. A. Wallace, Wallingford. Andrew N. Shepard, Portland ; alternate, C. J. Bates, Chester.

Third—Edwin Milner, Plainfield ; alternate, George A. Hammond, Putnam. Angus Park, Hanover ; alternate, John Eccles, Taftville.

Fourth—J. Henry Roraback, Canaan ; alternate, Arthur L. Clark, Winsted. William E. Burnham, Bridgeport ; alternate, Sidney E. Hawley, Brookfield.

The convention assembled on Tuesday, June 16, and was called to order by Harry S. New of Indiana, chairman of the national committee, who had been chosen to succeed George B. Cortelyou, who resigned the position to accept the office of postmaster general in President Roosevelt's cabinet.

Prayer was offered by Rt. Rev. Bishop Muldoon, V. G., of Chicago.

The call for the convention was then read.

Hon. J. C. Burrows of Michigan was recommended by the national committee for temporary chairman and the recommendation approved by the convention.

Mr. Burrows then made an address of considerable length.

Julius Caesar Burrows was born at North East, Erie County, Pa., January 9, 1837, of New England ancestry. During his boyhood his parents removed to Ashtabula County, Ohio, where he attended the district school and afterward Kingsville Academy. During the winter of 1853-'54 he taught school and then attended Grand River Institute, Austinburg, for a year. At nineteen he was principal of Madison Seminary, Lake County, and in 1858-'59 of the Union School at Jefferson, where he also read law. In 1860 he removed to Michigan, taking charge of Richland Seminary, Kalamazoo County, and in the spring of 1861 was admitted to practice in the supreme court of the state. In the fall he began the practice of his profession at Kalamazoo, but in 1862 entered military service, raising a company for the Seventeenth Michigan Infantry, in which he served as captain until the fall of 1863. He participated in the battles of South Mountain, Antietam, Fredericksburg, Vicksburg, Jackson and Knoxville. In 1864 he was elected circuit court commissioner. Since that date he has participated in every political contest.

In 1865 he was elected prosecuting attorney for Kalamazoo



County, and in 1868 was re-elected. In 1872 he was elected to congress on the Republican ticket. He was again elected in 1878, and served continuously until January, 1895, when he was elected United States senator to succeed Francis B. Stockbridge, which position he holds at the present time.

After the address of Mr. Burrows, temporary officers were chosen upon recommendation of the national committee, Charles Hopkins Clark of Connecticut moving that the recommendation be approved. One of the assistant secretaries was Ernest Walker Smith of Hartford.

A resolution was submitted by Sereno E. Payne, read and agreed to, "That until a permanent organization is effected, this convention be governed by the rules of the last Republican National Convention."

The committees were then named by the different states and territories.

Connecticut chose the following:

- On Credentials—Orsamus R. Fyler.
- On Permanent Organization—Charles F. Brooker.
- On Rules and Order of Business—Charles M. Jarvis.
- On Resolutions—Isaac M. Ullman.

A resolution was offered by J. F. Burke of Pennsylvania upon the basis of representation in future National Conventions. On motion of General Keifer of Ohio the same was referred to the committee on rules.

The convention then adjourned until the following day at 12 o'clock.

The convention reassembled at 12:20 o'clock on Wednesday (the second day).

Prayer was offered by the Rev. William Otis Waters of Chicago.

The convention, by a resolution adopted, invited Hon.

A. G. Proctor of St. Joseph, Mich., a delegate to the first Lincoln convention, held in Chicago in 1860, to the platform.

Henry Baker of Minnesota and Judge James D. Connor of Indiana, delegates to the 1856 (Fremont) convention, were then presented to the convention. The committee on credentials, through the chairman, C. W. Fulton of Oregon, made its report.

The report was agreed to.

The committee on permanent organization, through the chairman, Charles F. Brooker of Connecticut, then reported, naming Hon. Henry Cabot Lodge of Massachusetts as permanent chairman of the convention, with an honorary vice-president from each state, and John R. Malloy of Columbus, Ohio, as secretary, with assistant secretaries and other officers. Mr. Brooker moved the adoption of the report, which was agreed to.

Henry Cabot Lodge was the permanent chairman of the 1900 convention and a brief sketch of his life appears in the paper on that convention.

The temporary chairman appointed General Stewart S. Woodford of New York, and Governor Charles S. Deneen of Illinois, a committee to escort the permanent chairman to the platform. Mr. Lodge was received with great enthusiasm and delivered an able and eloquent address, which was interrupted at times with loud and long continued applause.

When in the course of his speech he referred in great praise to President Roosevelt's administration and said: "The President has enforced laws as he found them on the statute book. For this performance of his sworn duty he has been bitterly attacked. It was to be expected,

Vested abuses and profitable wrongs cry out loudly when their entrenchments are carried, and some one is sure to be hurt when the bayonets of the law are pushed home. In the great American electorate money has few votes, but it can command many voices and cause many birds to sing. The result is that the President is the best abused and the most popular man in the United States today." Then it was that the great outbreak began in the galleries, growing louder each minute and continuing the greater part of an hour; a demonstration for President Roosevelt with the object, it was said, of stampeding the convention in his favor. While the delegates at first took part in the applause for the President, the demonstration in the galleries evidently did not affect their own calm judgment. It had been said, prior to the convention by some of the President's warm admirers, that the convention would be stampeded for him, but the result of the attempt evidently was disappointing when the convention was finally restored to comparative quiet.

Mr. Lodge was able to finish his address and the convention to proceed to its business.

John Ade of Indiana, eighty years old, who had voted for every Republican candidate for President, beginning with Fremont, was invited to a seat on the platform.

W. H. Tripp of Wisconsin, eighty-eight years of age, a delegate to the 1860 convention which nominated Abraham Lincoln, was also given a seat on the platform.

The names of the members of the national committee were then announced as the roll of states was called. Connecticut again presented the name of Charles F. Brooker.

For honorary vice-president of the convention, Connecticut named Timothy E. Hopkins.

The state central committee of each state was empowered to fill any vacancy that may occur in the membership from that state upon the Republican national committee.

Francis E. Warren of Wyoming, chairman of the committee on rules and order of business, reported for that committee.

James F. Burke of Pennsylvania presented a minority report on behalf of seventeen states as against the twenty-three that voted in favor of the majority report on the proposition involving the representation in future conventions.

The effect of the amendment would have been to reduce the representation of most of the Southern states and increase that of some of the largest of the Northern states. There was a lengthy and animated discussion upon the question, participated in by many prominent delegates, including:

James Francis Burke of Pennsylvania, Governor Augustus E. Willson of Kentucky, General J. Warren Keifer of Ohio, Myron T. Herrick of Ohio, H. L. Remmel of Arkansas, George T. Buckingham of Illinois, James W. Wadsworth, Jr., of New York, Sydney E. Mudd of Maryland, Henry C. Warmouth of Louisiana, Henry L. Johnson of Georgia, James E. Watson of Indiana, and R. H. Angell of Virginia.

The question was upon agreeing to the amendment to Rule 1 reported by Mr. Burke.

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The roll of states was called and the result, as announced, as follows:

Years, 471; nays, 506.

So the amendment was rejected.

Connecticut voted 14 yea.

Henry Lockney of Wisconsin offered an amendment to Rule 12 by striking out from said rule as reported, the following: "Delegates-at-large for each state and their alternates shall be elected by state conventions in their respective states."

Mr. Lockney explained that in many states there are primary election laws, so that delegates-at-large are elected by a direct vote of the people.

After a short discussion the amendment was agreed to and the report of the committee on rules and order of business adopted, as amended.

The convention then at 5 o'clock P. M. adjourned until the following day at 10 o'clock A. M.

The convention reassembled on Thursday (the third day) at 10 o'clock A. M. and was called to order by the permanent chairman.

Rev. Dr. John Wesley Hill, pastor of Metropolitan Temple, New York, offered prayer.

Charles W. Fulton of Oregon then said:

*Mr. Chairman and Gentlemen of the Convention:*

The delegation from Oregon is proud of the fact and deems it an honor to state to the convention that among its members is the last surviving member of President Grant's cabinet, in the person of the Hon. George H. Williams, who was elected to the United States senate in 1864. He was a member of the

reconstruction committee of the senate, the author of the reconstruction bill and of the tenure of office act, and framed in the exact language in which it now appears the Fourteenth Amendment. He was afterward appointed attorney general, under President Grant. He is now in his eighty-sixth year. He has a mind exceptionally clear and strong, that looks back upon a life singularly replete with participation in great historic events. As a mark of respect to this distinguished citizen I move that he be invited to a seat upon the platform.

The motion was agreed to amid great applause.

Albert J. Hopkins of Illinois, chairman of the committee on resolutions, presented the report of that committee. The resolutions were read. After the reading, Mr. Hopkins moved the previous question on the adoption of the report. The demand was seconded by Kansas, Ohio and Minnesota, and the previous question ordered.

Henry Allen Cooper of Wisconsin presented a minority report.

Forty minutes were allowed for debate, twenty minutes on behalf of the majority report and twenty minutes on behalf of the minority report. Mr. Hopkins had charge of the time on behalf of the majority and Mr. Cooper on behalf of the minority.

The minority report differed from that of the majority in the matter of the regulation of railroads, the tariff, trusts and combinations and injunctions and trials in contempt cases; favored the election of United States senators by direct vote of the people, and the publicity of campaign contributions and expenditures. After a brief discussion in which Mr. Cooper of Wisconsin made the principal speech, the permanent chairman announced that the question was upon agreeing to the views of the minority of the committee proposed as a substitute for certain

parts of the report of the committee on resolutions. On that question Wisconsin demanded a call of states and the demand was seconded by South Dakota.

The roll of states was called and a vote taken on Mr. Cooper's amendments, unreserved for separate votes, and they were rejected, the vote standing:

Yeas, 28; nays, 952.

All but three of the yeas were from Wisconsin.

The next vote taken was upon Mr. Cooper's amendment relating to campaign expenses, and resulted as follows:

Yeas, 94; nays, 880.

The next vote taken was upon Mr. Cooper's amendment relating to the physical valuation of railroads, and resulted as follows:

Yeas, 63; nays, 917.

The next vote taken was upon the amendment of Mr. Cooper providing for the election of senators by direct vote, and resulted as follows:

Yeas, 114; nays, 866.

The permanent chairman then said: "The question is on the adoption of the report of your committee on resolutions." The report was agreed to.

#### THE PLATFORM.

Once more the Republican party, in National Convention assembled, submits its cause to the people. This great historic organization, that destroyed slavery, preserved the Union, restored credit, expanded the national domain, established a sound financial system, developed the industries and resources of the country, and gave to the nation her seat of

honor in the councils of the world, now meets the new problems of government with the same courage and capacity with which it solved the old.

#### REPUBLICANISM UNDER ROOSEVELT.

In this the greatest era of American advancement the Republican party has reached its highest service under the leadership of Theodore Roosevelt. His administration is an epoch in American history. In no other period since national sovereignty was won under Washington, or preserved under Lincoln, has there been such mighty progress in those high ideals of government which make for justice, equality and fair dealing among men. The highest aspirations of the American people have found a voice. Their most exalted servant represents the best aims and worthiest purposes of all his countrymen. American manhood has been lifted to a nobler sense of duty and obligation. Conscience and courage in public station and higher standards of right and wrong in private life have become cardinal principles of political faith; capital and labor have been brought into closer relations of confidence and interdependence; and the abuse of wealth, the tyranny of power, and all the evils of privilege and favoritism have been put to scorn by the simple, manly virtues of justice and fair play.

The great accomplishments of President Roosevelt have been, first and foremost, a brave and impartial enforcement of the law; the prosecution of illegal trusts and monopolies; the exposure and punishment of evil-doers in the public service; the more effective regulation of the rates and service of the great transportation lines; the complete overthrow of preferences, rebates and discriminations; the arbitration of labor disputes; the amelioration of the condition of wage-workers everywhere; the conservation of the natural resources of the country; the forward step in the improvement of the inland waterways; and always the earnest support and defense of every wholesome safeguard which has made more secure the guaranties of life, liberty and property.



These are the achievements that will make for Theodore Roosevelt his place in history, but more than all else the great things he has done will be an inspiration to those who have yet greater things to do. We declare our unfaltering adherence to the policies thus inaugurated, and pledge their continuance under a Republican administration of the government.

#### EQUALITY OF OPPORTUNITY.

Under the guidance of Republican principles the American people have become the richest nation in the world. Our wealth today exceeds that of England and all her colonies, and that of France and Germany combined. When the Republican party was born the total wealth of the country was \$16,000,000,000. It has leaped to \$110,000,000,000 in a generation, while Great Britain has gathered but \$60,000,000,000 in five hundred years. The United States now owns one-fourth of the world's wealth and makes one-third of all modern manufactured products. In the great necessities of civilization, such as coal, the motive power of all activity; iron, the chief basis of all industry; cotton, the staple foundation of all fabrics; wheat, corn and all agricultural products that feed mankind, America's supremacy is undisputed. And yet her great natural wealth has been scarcely touched. We have a vast domain of three million square miles, literally bursting with latent treasure, still waiting the magic of capital and industry to be converted to the practical uses of mankind; a country rich in soil and climate, in the unharnessed energy of its rivers and in all the varied products of the field, the forest and the factory. With gratitude for God's bounty, with pride in the splendid productiveness of the past and with confidence in the plenty and prosperity of the future, the Republican party declares for the principle that in the development and enjoyment of wealth so great and blessings so benign there shall be equal opportunity for all.

#### THE REVIVAL OF BUSINESS.

Nothing so clearly demonstrates the sound basis upon which our commercial industrial and agricultural interests are

founded, and the necessity of promoting their continued welfare through the operation of Republican policies, as the recent safe passage of the American people through a financial disturbance which, if appearing in the midst of Democratic rule or the menace of it, might have equalled the familiar Democratic panics of the past. We congratulate the people upon this renewed evidence of American supremacy and hail with confidence the signs now manifest of a complete restoration of business prosperity in all lines of trade, commerce and manufacturing.

#### RECENT REPUBLICAN LEGISLATION.

Since the election of William McKinley in 1896, the people of this country have felt anew the wisdom of entrusting to the Republican party through decisive majorities, the control and direction of national legislation.

The many wise and progressive measures adopted at recent sessions of congress have demonstrated the patriotic resolve of Republican leadership in the legislative department to keep step in the forward march toward better government.

Notwithstanding the indefensible filibustering of a Democratic minority in the house of representatives during the last session, many wholesome and progressive laws were enacted, and we especially commend the passage of the emergency currency bill; the appointment of the national monetary commission; the employer's and government liability laws; the measures for the greater efficiency of the army and navy; the widows' pension bill; the child labor law for the District of Columbia; the new statute for the safety of railroad engineers and firemen, and many other acts conserving the public welfare.

#### REPUBLICAN PLEDGES FOR THE FUTURE. TARIFF.

The Republican party declares unequivocally for a revision of the tariff by a special session of congress immediately following the inauguration of the next President, and commends the steps already taken to this end in the work assigned

to the appropriate committees of congress, which are now investigating the operation and effect of existing schedules.

In all tariff legislation the true principle of protection is best maintained by the imposition of such duties as will equal the difference between the cost of production at home and abroad, together with a reasonable profit to American industries. We favor the establishment of maximum and minimum rates to be administered by the President under limitations fixed in the law, the maximum to be available to meet discrimination by foreign countries against American goods entering their markets, and the minimum to represent the normal measure of protection at home; the aim and purpose of the Republican policy being not only to preserve, without excessive duties, that security against foreign competition to which American manufacturers, farmers and producers are entitled, but also to maintain the high standard of living of the wage-earners of this country, who are the most direct beneficiaries of the protective system. Between the United States and the Philippines we believe in a free interchange of products with such limitations as to sugar and tobacco as will afford adequate protection to domestic interests.

#### CURRENCY.

We approve the emergency measures adopted by the government during the recent financial disturbance, and especially commend the passage by congress at the last session of the law designed to protect the country from a repetition of such stringency. The Republican party is committed to the development of a permanent currency system, responding to our greater needs; and the appointment of the National Monetary Commission by the present congress, which will impartially investigate all proposed methods, insures the early realization of this purpose. The present currency laws have fully justified their adoption, but an expanding commerce, a marvelous growth in wealth and population, multiplying the centers of distribution, increasing the demand for the movement of crops in the West and South, and entailing periodic

changes in monetary conditions, disclose the need of a more elastic and adaptable system. Such a system must meet the requirements of agriculturists, manufacturers, merchants and business men generally, must be automatic in operation, minimizing the fluctuations in interest rates, and, above all, must be in harmony with that Republican doctrine which insists that every dollar shall be based upon, and as good as, gold.

#### POSTAL SAVINGS.

We favor the establishment of a postal savings bank system for the convenience of the people and the encouragement of thrift.

#### TRUSTS.

The Republican party passed the Sherman Anti-trust law over Democratic opposition, and enforced it after Democratic dereliction. It has been a wholesome instrument for good in the hands of a wise and fearless administration. But experience has shown that its effectiveness can be strengthened and its real object better attained by such amendments as will give to the federal government greater supervision and control over and secure greater publicity in, the management of that class of corporations engaged in interstate commerce having power and opportunity to effect monopolies.

#### RAILROADS.

We approve the enactment of the railroad rate law and the vigorous enforcement by the present administration of the statutes against rebates and discriminations, as a result of which the advantages formerly possessed by the large shipper over the small shipper have substantially disappeared; and in this connection we commend the appropriation by the present congress to enable the Interstate Commerce Commission to thoroughly investigate, and give publicity to, the accounts of interstate railroads. We believe, however, that the interstate commerce law should be further amended so as to give railroads the right to make and publish tariff agreements, subject

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to the approval of the Commission, but maintaining always the principle of competition between naturally competing lines and avoiding the common control of such lines by any means whatsoever. We favor such national legislation and supervision as will prevent the future over-issue of stocks and bonds by interstate carriers.

### RAILROAD AND GOVERNMENT EMPLOYEES.

The enactment in constitutional form at the present session of congress of the employer's liability law; the passage and enforcement of the safety appliance statutes, as well as the additional protection secured for engineers and firemen; the reduction in the hours of labor of trainmen and railroad telegraphers; the successful exercise of the powers of mediation and arbitration between interstate railroads and their employees, and the law making a beginning in the policy of compensation for injured employees of the government, are among the most commendable accomplishments of the present administration. But there is further work in this direction yet to be done, and the Republican party pledges its continued devotion to every cause that makes for safety and the betterment of conditions among those whose labor contribute so much to the progress and welfare of the country.

### WAGE EARNERS GENERALLY.

The same wise policy which has induced the Republican party to maintain protection to American labor; to establish an eight hour day in the construction of all public works; to increase the list of employees who shall have preferred claims for wages under the bankruptcy laws; to adopt a child labor statute for the District of Columbia; to direct an investigation into the condition of working women and children, and later, of employees of telephone and telegraph companies engaged in interstate business; to appropriate \$150,000 at the recent session of congress in order to secure a thorough inquiry into the causes of catastrophes and loss of life in the mines; and to amend and strengthen the law prohibiting the importation of contract labor, will be pursued in every legitimate direction

within federal authority to lighten the burdens and increase the opportunity for happiness and advancement of all who toil. The Republican party recognizes the special needs of wage-workers generally, for their well-being means the well-being of all. But more important than all other considerations is that of good citizenship, and we especially stand for the needs of every American, whatever his occupation, in his capacity as a self-respecting citizen.

#### COURT PROCEDURE.

The Republican party will uphold at all times the authority and integrity of the courts, state and federal, and will ever insist that their powers to enforce their process and to protect life, liberty and property shall be preserved inviolate. We believe, however, that the rules of procedure in the Federal Courts with respect to the issuance of the writ of injunction should be more accurately defined by statute, and that no injunction or temporary restraining order should be issued without notice, except where irreparable injury would result from delay, in which case a speedy hearing thereafter should be granted.

#### THE AMERICAN FARMER.

Among those whose welfare is as vital to the welfare of the whole country as is that of the wage-earner, is the American farmer. The prosperity of the country rests peculiarly upon the prosperity of agriculture. The Republican party during the last twelve years has accomplished extraordinary work in bringing the resources of the national government to the aid of the farmer, not only in advancing agriculture itself, but in increasing the conveniences of rural life. Free rural mail delivery has been established; it now reaches millions of our citizens, and we favor its extension until every community in the land receives the full benefits of the postal service. We recognize the social and economical advantages of good country roads, maintained more and more largely at public expense, and less and less at the expense of the abutting

owner. In this work we commend the growing practice of state aid, and we approve the efforts of the National Agricultural Department by experiments and otherwise to make clear to the public the best methods of road construction.

#### RIGHTS OF THE NEGRO.

The Republican party has been for more than fifty years the consistent friend of the American Negro. It gave him freedom and citizenship. It wrote into the organic law the declarations that proclaim his civil and political rights, and it believes today that his noteworthy progress in intelligence, industry and good citizenship has earned the respect and encouragement of the nation. We demand equal justice for all men, without regard to race or color; we declare once more and without reservation, for the enforcement in letter and spirit of the Thirteenth, Fourteenth and Fifteenth Amendment to the Constitution which were designed for the protection and advancement of the Negro, and we condemn all devices that have for their real aim his disfranchisement for reason of color alone, as unfair, un-American and repugnant to the supreme law of the land.

#### NATURAL RESOURCES AND WATERWAYS.

We endorse the movement inaugurated by the administration for the conservation of natural resources; we approve all measures to prevent the waste of timber; we commend the work now going on for the reclamation of arid lands, and reaffirm the Republican policy of the free distribution of the available areas of the public domain to the landless settler. No obligation of the future is more insistent and none will result in greater blessings to posterity. In line with this splendid undertaking is the further duty, equally imperative, to enter upon a systematic improvement upon a large and comprehensive plan, just to all portions of the country, of the waterways, harbors, and Great Lakes, whose natural adaptability to the increasing traffic of the land is one of the greatest gifts of a benign Providence.

## THE ARMY AND NAVY.

The sixtieth congress passed many commendable acts increasing the army and navy; making the militia of the states an integral part of the national establishment; authorizing joint maneuvers of army and militia; fortifying new naval bases and completing the construction of coaling stations; instituting a female nurse corps for the naval hospitals and ships and adding two new battleships, ten torpedo boat destroyers, three steam colliers, and eight submarines to the strength of the navy. Although at peace with all the world, and secure in the consciousness that the American people do not desire and will not provoke a war with any other country, we nevertheless declare our unalterable devotion to a policy that will keep this Republic ready at all times to defend her traditional doctrines, and assure her appropriate part in promoting permanent tranquillity among the nations.

## PROTECTION OF AMERICAN CITIZENS ABROAD.

We commend the vigorous efforts made by the administration to protect American citizens in foreign lands, and pledge ourselves to insist upon the just and equal protection of all our citizens abroad. It is the unquestioned duty of our government to procure for all our citizens, without distinction, the rights of travel and sojourn in friendly countries, and we declare ourselves in favor of all proper efforts tending to that end.

## EXTENSION OF FOREIGN COMMERCE.

Under the administration of the Republican party the foreign commerce of the United States has experienced a remarkable growth, until it has a present annual valuation of approximately three billions of dollars, and gives employment to a vast amount of labor and capital which would otherwise be idle. It has inaugurated, through the recent visit of the secretary of state to South America and Mexico, a new era of Pan-American commerce and comity, which is bringing us into closer touch with our twenty sister American Republics,



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having a common historical heritage, a Republican form of government, and offering us a limitless field of legitimate commercial expansion.

### ARBITRATION AND THE HAGUE TREATIES.

The conspicuous contributions of American statesmanship to the cause of international peace, so signally advanced in the Hague conferences, are an occasion for just pride and gratification. At the last session of the senate of the United States eleven Hague conventions were ratified establishing the rights of neutrals, laws of war on land, restriction of submarine mines, limiting the use of force for the collection of contractual debts, governing the opening of hostilities, extending the application of Geneva principles and, in many ways, lessening the evils of war and promoting the peaceful settlement of international controversies. At the same session twelve arbitration conventions with great nations were confirmed and extradition, boundary and naturalization treaties of supreme importance were ratified. We endorse such achievements as the highest duty a people can perform and proclaim the obligation of further strengthening the bonds of friendship and good will with all nations of the world.

### MERCHANT MARINE.

We adhere to the Republican doctrine of encouragement to American shipping and urge such legislation as will revive the merchant marine prestige of the country, so essential to national defense, the enlargement of foreign trade and the industrial prosperity of our own people.

### VETERANS OF THE WARS.

Another Republican policy which must be ever maintained is that of generous provision for those who have fought the country's battles and for the widows and orphans of those who have fallen. We commend the increase in the widows' pensions made by the present congress and declare for a liberal administration of all pension laws to the end that the

people's gratitude may grow deeper as the memories of heroic sacrifice grow more and more sacred with the passing years.

#### CIVIL SERVICE.

We reaffirm our former declarations that the civil laws, enacted, extended and enforced by the Republican party, shall continue to be maintained and obeyed.

#### PUBLIC HEALTH.

We commend the efforts designed to secure greater efficiency in national public health agencies and favor such legislation as will effect this purpose.

#### BUREAU OF MINES AND MINING.

In the interest of the great mineral industries of our country, we earnestly favor the establishment of a Bureau of Mines and Mining.

#### CUBA, PORTO RICO, PHILIPPINES, AND PANAMA.

The American government, in Republican hands, has freed Cuba, given peace and protection to Porto Rico and the Philippines under our flag, and begun the construction of the Panama Canal. The present conditions in Cuba vindicate the wisdom of maintaining, between that Republic and this, imperishable bonds of mutual interest, and the hope is now expressed that the Cuban people will soon again be ready to assume complete sovereignty over their land.

In Porto Rico the government of the United States is meeting loyal and patriotic support; order and prosperity prevail, and the well-being of the people is in every respect promoted and conserved.

We believe that the native inhabitants of Porto Rico should be at once collectively made citizens of the United States, and that all others properly qualified under existing laws in said island should have the privilege of becoming naturalized.

In the Philippines insurrection has been suppressed, law established and life and property made secure. Education and practical experience are there advancing the capacity of the people for government, and the policies of McKinley and

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Roosevelt are leading inhabitants step by step to an ever-increasing measure of home rule.

Time has justified the selection of the Panama route for the great Isthmian Canal, and events have shown the wisdom of securing authority over the zone through which it is to be built. The work is now progressing with a rapidity far beyond expectation, and already the realization of the hopes of centuries has come within the vision of the near future.

### NEW MEXICO AND ARIZONA.

We favor the immediate admission of the Territories of New Mexico and Arizona as separate states in the Union.

### CENTENARY AND BIRTH OF LINCOLN.

February 12, 1909, will be the one hundredth anniversary of the birth of Abraham Lincoln, an immortal spirit whose fame has brightened with the receding years, and whose name stands among the first of those given to the world by the great Republic. We recommend that this centennial anniversary be celebrated throughout the confines of the nation, by all the people thereof; and especially by the public schools, as an exercise to stir the patriotism of the youth of the land.

### DEMOCRATIC INCAPACITY FOR GOVERNMENT.

We call the attention of the American people to the fact that none of the great measures here advocated by the Republican party could be enacted, and none of the steps forward here proposed could be taken under a Democratic administration or under one in which party responsibility is divided. The continuance of present policies, therefore, absolutely requires the continuance in power of that party which believes in them and which possesses the capacity to put them into operation.

### FUNDAMENTAL DIFFERENCES BETWEEN DEMOCRACY AND REPUBLICANISM.

Beyond all platform declarations there are fundamental differences between the Republican party and its chief opponent which make the one worthy and the other unworthy of public trust.

In history, the difference between Democracy and Republicanism is that the one stood for debased currency, the other for honest currency; the one for free silver, the other for sound money; the one for free trade, the other for protection; the one for contraction of American influence, the other for its expansion; the one has been forced to abandon every position taken on the great issues before the people, the other has held and vindicated all.

In experience, the difference between Democracy and Republicanism is that the one means adversity, while the other means prosperity; one means low wages, the other means high; one means doubt and debt; the other means confidence and thrift.

In principle, the difference between Democracy and Republicanism is that one stands for vacillation and timidity in government, the other for strength and purpose; one stands for obstruction, the other for construction; one promises, the other performs; one finds fault, the other finds work.

The present tendencies of the two parties are even more marked by inherent differences. The trend of Democracy is toward socialism, while the Republican party stands for a wise and well regulated individualism. Socialism would destroy wealth. Republicanism would prevent its abuse. Socialism would give to each an equal right to take; Republicanism would give to each an equal right to earn. Socialism would offer an equality of possession which would soon leave no one anything to possess; Republicanism would give equality of opportunity which would assure to each his share of a constantly increasing sum of possession. In line with this tendency the Democratic party of today believes in government ownership, while the Republican party believes in government regulation. Ultimately Democracy would have the nation own the people, while Republicanism would have the people own the nation.

Upon this platform of principles of purposes, reaffirming our adherence to every Republican doctrine proclaimed since the birth of the party, we go before the country, asking the

support not only of those who have acted with us heretofore, but of all our fellow-citizens who, regardless of past political differences, unite in the desire to maintain the policies, perpetuate the blessings and make secure the achievements of a greater America.

The permanent chairman announced that "the next business in order is the calling the roll for the presentation of the names of candidates for the office of President of the United States."

The secretary proceeded to call the roll. When the state of Illinois was called, Henry S. Boutell from that state, presented the name of Speaker Joseph G. Cannon of Illinois.

The motion was seconded by Joseph W. Fordney of Michigan.

When Indiana was called, Governor Hanly from that state presented the name of Charles W. Fairbanks. The nomination was seconded by Charles A. Bookwalter from the same state.

When New York was called, Stewart L. Woodford presented the name of Governor Charles E. Hughes.

When Ohio was called, Theodore E. Burton presented the name of William H. Taft.

The nomination was seconded by George A. Knight of California.

C. B. McCoy presented the name of Joseph B. Foraker. The nomination was seconded by W. O. Emory of Georgia.

When Pennsylvania was called, Robert S. Murphy from that state, presented the name of Philander Knox. The nomination was seconded by James Scarlet, also from Pennsylvania.

When Wisconsin was called, Henry F. Cochems of Wisconsin presented the name of Robert M. La Follette. The nomination was seconded by C. A. A. McGee, also of Wisconsin.

The call of the roll of states for the presentation of names of candidates was completed, and the states were then called to ballot for a candidate for President.

During the balloting the delegates from New York, on demand, were polled, resulting as follows:

Hughes 65, Taft 10, Cannon 3.

A poll was also demanded in the South Carolina delegation, which resulted in Fairbanks receiving 2, Foraker 2 and Taft 13.

The result of the ballot was then announced, as follows:

Total number of votes cast .....	979
Joseph G. Cannon .....	58
Charles W. Fairbanks .....	40
Joseph B. Foraker .....	16
Charles E. Hughes .....	67
Philander C. Knox .....	68
Robert M. La Follette .....	25
Theodore Roosevelt .....	3
William Howard Taft .....	702

Connecticut voted 14 for Taft.

The permanent chairman said: "It remains only for me to announce that William Howard Taft of Ohio is your candidate for the Presidency for the term beginning the 4th of March, 1909."

Stewart L. Woodford of New York said: "Mr. Chairman, at the request of Governor Hughes, and by the instruction of the united New York delegation, I move

that the nomination of William H. Taft for the Presidency be made unanimous."

Senator Penrose of Pennsylvania "by the unanimous request of the Pennsylvania delegation," seconded the motion.

Henry S. Boutell of Illinois "at the request of Joseph G. Cannon and in accordance with the unanimous wish of the Illinois delegation," also seconded the motion. Mr. Boutell was followed by Senator Beveridge of Indiana, W. O. Emory of Georgia, William C. Brunder of Wisconsin and Joseph W. Fordney of Michigan, all in favor of seconding the motion, which was unanimously agreed to. The nomination of Secretary Taft was received with the greatest enthusiasm by the entire convention.

On motion of C. W. Fulton the convention adjourned until 10 o'clock the following morning.

The convention reassembled on Friday (the fourth day) and was called to order by the permanent chairman at 10 o'clock A. M.

Prayer was offered by Rabbi Tobias Schanfarber of Chicago.

The permanent chairman stated that the next business in order was the presentation of candidates for Vice-President.

Chase S. Osborn of Michigan moved that nominating addresses for Vice-President be limited to ten minutes and that seconding addresses be limited to five minutes.

The motion was seconded by J. R. Williams of Pennsylvania and agreed to.

The roll of states was called for the presentation of candidates for the Vice-Presidency.

When the State of Delaware was called, Henry A. Du Pont said: "The State of Delaware yields to New York," whereupon Timothy L. Woodruff presented the name of Congressman James S. Sherman of New York.

The permanent chairman said: "With the unanimous assent of the convention, the chair recognizes Mr. Speaker Cannon to second the nomination of Mr. Sherman."

Mr. Cannon made an earnest speech for Mr. Sherman, as did Governor Augustus E. Willson of Kentucky also.

The presiding officer (Frank E. Dennison in the chair) said: "The chair recognizes Senator Lodge of Massachusetts."

Senator Lodge presented the name of former Governor Curtis Guild of Massachusetts. The nomination was seconded by Chase S. Osborn of Michigan.

Congressman Sherman's nomination was later seconded by Mr. Yellowby of Mississippi, Harry Skinner of North Carolina, Merlin E. Olmstead of Pennsylvania, Dennis T. Flynn of Oklahoma, H. Clay Evans of Tennessee, and C. B. Slemph of Virginia. Thomas N. McCarter of New Jersey presented the name of Franklin Murphy of New Jersey.

The roll of states was again called and the balloting began. The result of the ballot was as follows:

Total number of votes cast .....	979
Charles W. Fairbanks .....	1
Curtis Guild .....	75
Franklin Murphy .....	77
George L. Sheldon of Nebraska .....	10
James S. Sherman .....	816



Senator Crane of Massachusetts, on behalf of the Massachusetts delegation, moved to make the nomination of James S. Sherman unanimous. The motion was seconded by Chase S. Osborn of Michigan and Governor J. Franklin Fort of New Jersey. The permanent chairman said: "The chair declares James S. Sherman of New York your nominee for the office of Vice-President for the term beginning the 4th of March, 1909."

Connecticut voted unanimously for Franklin Murphy of New Jersey.

A resolution was offered by Senator Gallinger, "That the permanent chairman of the convention, Hon. Henry Cabot Lodge of Massachusetts, be appointed chairman of the committee to notify Hon. William H. Taft of his nomination for President, and that the temporary chairman be appointed chairman of the committee to notify Hon. James S. Sherman of his nomination for Vice-President, and that the committees notify the candidates on such dates as may hereafter be arranged."

Mr. Lodge stated that it would be "impossible for him to fulfill the most agreeable and honorable duty suggested by the resolution," and asked leave of the convention to substitute for his name that of General Warner of Missouri. The resolution, as amended was agreed to.

A resolution was passed tendering the thanks of the convention to all its officers.

A telegram was read from the Irish-American Republican League of Greater New York, sending greetings to the convention and wishing to "record themselves as indorsing the nomination of William H. Taft to be President of the United States."

Thanks were extended to the Chicago committee of

arrangements, the members of the sub-committee of the national committee, and also to the citizens of Chicago for their hospitality.

The committees to notify the candidates for President and Vice-President of their nomination were then announced. Connecticut named Charles Hopkins Clark for the former and George E. Keeney for the latter.

The convention at 11:48 o'clock A. M. adjourned sine die.

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The committee to notify William Howard Taft of his nomination waited upon him at the residence of his brother, Charles P. Taft, at Cincinnati, Ohio, July 28, 1908.

The address of notification was made by the chairman of the committee, General William Warner of Missouri in a brief address.

Mr. Taft, in acceptance, replied at great length, the length of his speech being made necessary by the issues involved in the campaign.

James S. Sherman was notified by the committee named at the convention, at Utica, New York, August 18, 1908, the address being delivered by Hon. Julius C. Burrows, chairman of the committee.

Mr. Sherman replied in a brief speech of acceptance.

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#### WILLIAM H. TAFT.

William Howard Taft was born in the city of Cincinnati, Ohio, September 15, 1857. His parents were Alphonso and Louise Torrey Taft. Alphonso was graduated from Yale College and then went out to the Western Reserve to practice law and settled in Cincinnati.

Young Taft attended Yale. He was a big, rollicking, good natured boy, who liked play but still got fun out of work. He did enough in athletics to keep his 225 pounds of muscle in good condition, but gave most of his time to his studies. When the class of '78 was graduated Taft was its salutatorian, having finished second among one hundred and twenty. He was also elected class orator by the class. He was then not quite 21.

He was hardly out of his boyhood when he was called to public office, and in most of the years since then he has devoted himself to the public service. First he was assistant prosecuting attorney of Hamilton county. In 1881 he became collector of internal revenue for the first Ohio district, and demonstrated the same ability in business that he had shown in the law. A year later he resigned that office and went back to the practice of law with his father's old partner.

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In 1889 President Harrison asked him to take the difficult post of solicitor general of the United States. It was during his term as solicitor general that Mr. Taft met Theodore Roosevelt, then civil service commissioner, and began the friendship which has continued and grown ever since and which has had such far-reaching influence upon the lives of both men. After three years in Washington he was sent back to Ohio as judge of the Sixth Federal Circuit Court, a post generally recognized as a preliminary step to the supreme court, which was the goal of his ambition. In March, 1909, President McKinley appointed him chairman of the Philippine Commission. On February 1, 1904, he succeeded Elihu Root as secretary of war, which position he held until after his nomination for the presidency.

#### JAMES S. SHERMAN.

James Schoolcraft Sherman was born in the city of Utica, New York, where he now resides, October 25, 1855. His father was Richard U. Sherman, also born in Oneida county, New York, by profession an editor and also prominent in public life. Mr. Sherman was educated in the district schools, the Whitestown, New York, Academy, and Hamilton College. He studied law and was admitted to the bar and practiced for some years. Mr. Sherman has been President of the Utica Trust and Deposit Company and interested in several business enterprises. He is a trustee of Hamilton College, which college gave him the degree of LL.D.

Mr. Sherman has served twenty years in congress and presided over the New York Republican state conventions of 1895, 1900 and 1908.

He was elected Mayor of Utica in 1884. In congress he has been prominent for years, his principal work being done in the committees on Interstate and Foreign Commerce and on Indian Affairs, the latter of which he was chairman.

He was frequently mentioned for speaker of the house, but never made an active canvass for the place.

Mr. Taft later selected Frank H. Hitchcock of Massachusetts as chairman of the national committee, which selection was ratified by the unanimous vote of the committee. Mr. Hitchcock had managed Secretary Taft's canvass for the nomination with signal ability, and was generally recognized as the right man to take charge of the campaign for his election.

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The Democratic National Convention was held in Denver, Colo., July 7-10, and again nominated William J. Bryan for President, and in order to help the party in Indiana, nominated John Kern of that state for Vice-President.

Mr. Bryan began his campaign early, and after speaking in the West a number of times, made his first tour in the East as early as August. He then made many speeches in the West and Southwest and returned to the East for an extended tour, which included among other states New York and New Jersey.

Mr. Taft made an extended tour through the West, Northwest and South, and spent the last week of the campaign in the East. Wherever he went he was greeted by immense audiences, and delivered most effective speeches. The principal issues were the tariff, trusts, the railroad rate law, currency and court procedure in the matter of injunction, all of which questions Mr. Taft discussed with great clearness and frankness.

The campaign on both sides was exciting at the close. While Mr. Bryan began his campaign early, Mr. Hitchcock, the chairman of the Republican national committee, wisely postponed the speaking part of the Republican

campaign until the latter part of September, preferring to have the red fire, fireworks and noise in large enough quantities to suit everybody at the close of the campaign.

In the meantime, Mr. Hitchcock, ably assisted by Charles F. Brooker of Connecticut, was laying the foundation for a campaign that for systematic and effective work has probably never been surpassed, if equalled. How well the work was carried out was shown in the result of the election in November, for William H. Taft and James S. Sherman received 321 electoral votes, while Bryan and Kern received only 162; and of the popular vote Taft and Sherman received 7,677,479 and Bryan and Kern received 6,405,585.

Connecticut, with seven electoral votes, gave Taft 112,815, Bryan 68,255.

William Howard Taft was inaugurated President of the United States March 4, 1909, in the midst of a great blizzard, as the successor to Theodore Roosevelt.



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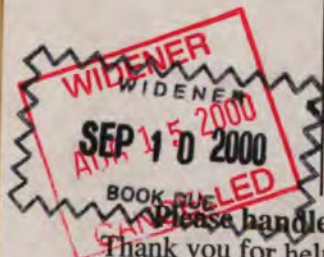
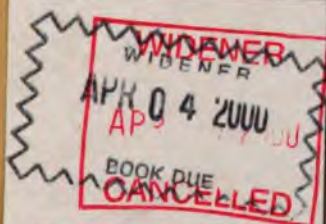


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